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FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

SHERWOOD FOREST, OR WAGER BY BATTLE.

A Tale of Saxon Slavery in the Twelfth Century.

BY HENRY WILLIAM HERBERT.

CHAP. XII.

The Old Home.

Your knight for his lady pricks forth in career,
And is brought home at even-song, pricked through with a spear. — *Ivanhoe.*

That was a dark day for Eadwulf, on which the train of Sir Yvo de Taillebois departed from the tower of Waltheofstow; and thenceforth the discontented, dark-spirited man became darker, more morose and gloomy, until his temper had got to such a pass that he was shunned and avoided by every one, even of his own fellows.

It is true, that in the condition of slavery, in the being one of a despised and a detested caste, in being compelled to labor for the benefit of others than himself, in being liable at any moment to be sold, together with the glebe to which he is attached for life, like the ox or ass with which he toils as a companion, there is not much to promote contentedness, to foster a quiet, placable, and gentle disposition, to render any man more just, or grateful, or forbearing to his fellows. Least of all is it so, where there is in the slave just enough of knowledge, of civilization, of higher nurture, to enable him to desire freedom in the abstract, to pine for it as a right denied, and to hate those by whom he is deprived of it, without comprehending its real value, or in the least appreciating either the privileges which it confers or the duties which it imposes on the freeman — least of all, when the man has from nature received a churlish, gloomy, sullen temperament, such as would be likely to make to itself a fanciful adversity out of actual prosperity, to resent all opposition to its slightest wish as an injury, and to envy, almost to the length of hating, every one more fortunate than himself.

It may, however, as all other conditions of inferiority, of sorrow, or of suffering, be rendered lighter and more tolerable by the mode of bearing it. Not that one would desire to see any man, whether reduced by circumstances to that condition, or held to it from his birth, so far reduced to a tame and senseless submission as to accept it as his natural state, or to endure it apathetically, without an effort at raising himself to his proper position in the scale of humanity and nature.

It is perfectly consistent with the utmost abhorrence of the condition, and the most thorough determination to escape from it by any means lawful to a Christian, to endure what is unavoidable, and to do that which must be done, bravely, patiently, well, and therefore nobly.

But it was not in the nature of Eadwulf to take either part. His rugged, stubborn, animal character, was as little capable of forming any scheme for his own prospective liberation, to which energy, and a firm, far-reaching will, should be the agents, as it was either to endure patiently or to labor well.

Perpetually remiss, working reluctantly and badly, ever a recusant, a recreant, a sullen and morose grumbler, while he in no respect lightened, but, it is probable, rather enhanced his difficulties, he detracted from what slight hope there might exist of his future emancipation, by carefully, as it would seem, conciliating the ill-opinion and ill-will of all men, whether his equals or his superiors; while he entirely neglected to earn or amass such small sums as might be within his reach, and as might perhaps, in the end, suffice to purchase his liberation.

So long as Kenric and his mother remained in the hamlet of Waltheofstow, and he was permitted to associate with them in their quarter, in consequence of the character for patience, honesty, fidelity, and good conduct, which his brother had acquired with his masters, Eadwulf's temper had been in some sort restrained by the influence, unconfessed indeed, and only half endured with sullen reluctance, which that brother obtained over him, through his clearer and stronger intellect. But when they were departed, and when he found himself ejected, as a single man in the first place, and yet more as one marked for a bad servant and a dangerous character, from the best cottage in the quarter, to which he had begun to fancy himself of right entitled, he became worse and worse, until, even in the sort of barrack or general lodging of the male slaves of the lowest order, he was regarded by his fellows as the bad spirit of the set, and was never sought by any, unless as the ringleader in some act of villany, wickedness, or rebellion.

It is probable, moreover, that the beauty and innocence of Edith, who, however averse she might be to the temper and disposition of the man, had been wont, since her betrothal to his brother, to treat him with a certain friendship and familiarity, might have had some influence in mollifying his manner, at least, and curbing the natural display of his passionate yet sullen disposition.

Certain it is, that in some sort he loved her—as much, perhaps, as his sensual and unintelligent soul would allow him to love; and though he never had shown any predilection, never had made any effort to conciliate her favor, nor dared to attempt any rivalry of his brother, whom he wholly feared, and half hated for his assumed superiority, he sorely felt her absence, regretted her liberation from slavery, and even felt aggrieved at it, since he could not share her new condition.

His brother's freedom he resented as a positive injury done to himself; and his hearing away with him the beautiful Edith, soon to become his bride, he looked on in the light of a fraudulent or forcible abstraction of his own property. From that moment, he became utterly brutalized and bad—he was constantly ordered for punishment, and at length he got to such a pitch of idleness, insolence, and rebellion, that Sir Philip de Morville, though, in his reluctance to resort to corporeal punishment, he would not allow him to be scourged or set in the stocks, ordered his seneschal to take steps for selling him to some merchant, who would undertake to transport him to one of the English colonies in Ireland.

Circumstances, however, occurred, which changed the fate both of the master and the slave, and led in the end to the events which form the most striking portion of the present narrative.

For some time past, as was known throughout all the region, Sir Philip de Morville had been, if not actually at feud, at least on terms of open enmity with the nobleman whose lands marched with his own on the forest side, Sir Foulke d'Oilly—a man well advanced in years, most of which he had spent in constant marauding warfare, a hated oppressor and tyrant to his tenantry and vassals, and regarded, among his Norman neighbors and comrades, as an unprincipled, discourteous, and cruel man.

With this man, recently, fresh difficulties had arisen concerning some disputed rights of chase, and on a certain day, within a month after the departure of Sir Yvo de Taillebois, the two nobles, meeting on the debatable ground while in pursuit of the chase under very aggravating circumstances, the hounds of both parties having fallen on the scent of the same stag, high words passed; a few arrows were shot by the retainers on both sides, Sir Philip's being much the more numerous; a forester of Sir Foulke d'Oilly's train was shot; and, had it not been for the extreme forbearance of de Morville, a conflict would have ensued, which could have terminated only in the total discomfiture of his rival and all his men.

This forbearance, however, effected no good end; for, before the barons parted, some words passed between them in private, which were not heard by any of their immediate followers, and the effect of which were known only by the consequences which soon ensued.

On the following morning, at the break of day, before the earliest of the serfs were summoned to their labors, the castle drawbridge was lowered, and Sir Philip rode forth on his *destrier*, completely armed, but followed only by a single esquire in his ordinary attire.

The vizor of the knight's square-topped helmet was lowered, and the mail hood drawn closely over it. His hahergeon of glittering steel rings, his mail hose, fortified on the shoulders and at the knees by plates of polished steel, called poldrons and splonts, shone like silver through the twilight; his triangular shield hung about his neck, his great two-handed broadsword from his left shoulder to his heel, and his long steel-headed lance was grasped in his right hand; none could doubt that he was riding forth to do battle, but it was strange that he wore no surcoat of arms over his plain mail, that no trumpet preceded, no banner was borne behind him, no retainers, save that one unarmed man, in his garb of peace, followed the bridle of their lord.

He rode away slowly down the hill, through the serfs' quarter, into the wood; the warder from the turret saw him turn and gaze back wistfully toward his hereditary towers, perhaps half prescient that he should see them no more. He turned, and was lost to view; nor did any eye of his faithful vassals look on him in life again.

Noon came, and the dinner hour, but the knight came not to the banquet hall—evening fell, and there were no tidings; but, at nightfall, Eadwulf came in, pale, ghastly, and terrified, and announced that the knight and the esquire both lay dead with their horses in a glade of the wood, not far from the scene of the quarrel of the preceding day, on the banks of the river Idle. No time was lost. With torch and cresset, bow and spear, the household hurried, under their appointed officers, to the fatal spot, and soon found the tidings of the serf to be but too true.

The knight and his horse lay together, as they had fallen, both stricken down at the same instant, in full career as it would seem, by a sudden and instantaneous death-stroke. The warrior, though prostrate, still sat the horse as if in life; he was not unhelmed; his shield was still about his neck; his lance was yet in the rest, the shaft unbroken, and the point unbloodied—the animal lay with its legs extended, as if it had been at full speed when the fatal stroke overtook it. A barbed clothyard arrow had been shot directly into its breast, piercing the heart through and through, by some one in full front of the animal; and a lance point had entered the throat of the rider, above the edge of the shield which hung about his neck, coming out between the shoulders, behind, and inflicting a wound which must have been instantaneously mortal.

Investigation of the ground showed that many horses had been concealed or ambushed in a neighboring dingle, within easy arrow-shot of the murdered baron; that two horsemen had encountered him in the glade, one of whom, he by whose lance he had fallen, had charged him in full career.

It was evident to the men-at-arms, that Sir Philip's charger had been treacherously shot dead in full career, by an archer ambushed in the brake, at the very moment when he was encountering his enemy at the lance's point; and that, as the horse was in the act of falling, he had been bored through from above, before his own lance had touched the other rider.

The esquire had been cut down and hacked with many wounds of axes and two-handed swords, one of his arms being completely severed from the trunk, and his skull cleft asunder by a ghastly blow. His horse's brains had been dashed out with a mace, probably after the slaughter of the rider; and that this part of the deed of horror had been accomplished by many armed men, dismounted, and not by the slayer of de Morville, was evident, from the number of mailed and booted footsteps deeply imprinted in the turf around the carcases of the murdered men and butchered animals.

Efforts were made immediately to track the assassins by the slot, several, both of the men-at-arms and of the Yorkshire foresters, being expert at the art; but their skill was at fault, as well as the scent of the slow hounds, which were laid on the trail; for, within a few hundred yards of the spot, the party had entered the channel of the river Idle, and probably followed its course upward, to a place where it flowed over a sheet of hard, slaty rock; and where the land on the further bank consisted of a dry, sun-burnt, upland waste, of short, summer-parched turf, which took no impression of the horses' hoofs.

There was no proof, nor any distinct circumstantial evidence; yet none doubted, any more than if they had beheld the doing of the dastardly deed, that the good Lord de Morville had fallen by the hand of Sir Foulke d'Oilly and of his associates in blood-shedding.

For the rest, the good knight lay dead, leaving no child, wife, brother, nor any near relation, who should inherit either his honors or his lands. He had left neither testament nor next of kin. Literally, he had died, and made no sign.

The offices of the church were done duly, the masses were chanted over the dead, and the last remains of the good knight were consigned to dust in the chapel vaults of his ancestral castle, never to descend to posterity of his, or to bear his name again forever.

In a few days it was made known that Sir Philip had died deeply indebted to the Jews of York, of Tadcaster, even of London; that his estates, all of which were unentailed and in his own right, were heavily mortgaged; and that the lands would be sold to satisfy the creditors of the deceased. Shortly after, it was whispered abroad, and soon proclaimed aloud, that Sir Foulke d'Oilly had become purchaser of whatever was saleable, and had been confirmed by the royal mandate in the possession of the seigneurial and feudal rights of the lapsed fief of Waltheofstow. There had been none to draw attention to the suspicions which weighed so heavily against Sir Foulke in the neighborhood; and among the followers of the dead knight, they were men of small rank and no influence, and had no motive to induce them wantonly to incur the hatred of the most powerful and unscrupulous noble of the vicinity, by bringing charges which they had no means to substantiate, if true, and which, to disprove, it was probable that he had contrivances already prepared by false witness.

Within a little while, Sir Foulke d'Oilly assumed his rights territorial and seigneurial; but he removed not in person to Waltheofstow, continuing to reside in his own larger and more magnificent castle of Fenton in the Forest, within a few miles' distance, and committing the whole management of his estates and governance of his serfs to a hard, stern, old man-at-arms, renowned for his cruel valor, whom he installed as the seneschal of the fief, with his brother, acting as bailiff under him, and a handfull of fierce, marauding, free companions, as a garrison to the castle.

The retainers of the old lord were got rid of peacefully, their dues of pay being made up to them, and themselves dismissed, with some small gratuity. One by one, the free tenants threw up the farms which they rented, or resigned the fiefs which they held on man-service; and, before Sir Philip had been a month cold in his grave, not a soul was left in the place, of its old inhabitants, except the miserable Saxon serfs, to whom change of masters brought no change of place; and who, regarded as little better than mere brutes of burden, were scarce distinguished one from the other, or known by name, to their new and vicarious rulers. On them fell the most heavily the sudden blow which had deprived them of a just, a reasonable, and a merciful lord, as justice and mercy went in those days, and consigned them, defenceless and helpless slaves, to one among the cruellest oppressors of that cruel and benighted period; and, worse yet than that, mere chattels at the mercy of an underling, crueller even than his lord, and wanting even in the sordid interest which the owner must needs feel in the physical welfare of his property.

Wo, indeed, wo worth the day, to the serfs of Waltheofstow, when they fell into the hands of Sir Foulke d'Oilly, and tasted of the mercies of his seneschal, Black Hugonet of Fenton in the Forest!

For the National Era.

HORACE GRESHAM.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

CHAP. II.

The sun has been "up and doing" for many hours—peering down through the thick leaves and gnarled branches, to dry the birds' nests; graduating the temperature of the great blue air-bath around us to just the right heat for the myriads of beings who "live and move and have their being" therein; unfolding the tumid flower-buds leaf by leaf; kissing the full-blown beauties which blushingly drooped their heads, though everybody knew they were used to it; fashioning all sorts of gems and brilliants, from the pure, simple material of rippling waters. Then, with a dreamy, mellowed worth, it slept on the broad meadows and upland pastures of the country, and crept noiselessly down through the thick branches of the old willows in the graveyard at Ireton, until it fell in bright, golden flecks on little Alice Granger's newly-turfed grave, and stole with a subdued brightness through the vine-veiled window of a quiet room near by, where sat her mother, thinking of that little grave, while her eyes filled with tears. Oh! so different from the hot glare with which it looked down upon the brick walls and burning pavements of the city, where rose the misshapen, unmarked mound, beneath which, for three weeks, had rested the remains of the murdered gambler, Granger.

And of all this, but more than all of the gentle woman, who sat weeping in that quiet room, was Horace Gresham thinking, as he lay, pale and weak from recent illness, on a sofa in a handsomely-furnished room of a pretty country villa, about four miles from the city.

The windows, fronting the west, were thrown up, and the loitering west wind, laden with the perfume of flowers with which it had been dallying in the garden below, fell softly on the invalid's brow; while his eye took in a broad sweep of country, hill and meadow, dell and lawn, lake and forest, bounded by a circlet of hills, blue and misty, in the distance.

Something of the glad, grateful sense of life, which we all feel after weeks of confinement to a sick room, mingled with the yearning tenderness that sent his thoughts to the spot far beyond those blue hills, where lay the home of his boyhood.

He forgot, for one moment, the dark plague-spot on his soul, and it was neither agony nor remorse that made his eyes misty with tears. He had been very ill. "A low, nervous fever," the doctors had said. He let them call it what they pleased; took their medicines mechanically, because he had no strength to resist; then laid his head back on the pillows, praying that he might die. But God in his mercy did not heed his prayer. When the crisis was past, and he lay free from pain in the long sleepless night-watches, an angel came down, and touched the troubled waters of his soul, and so the fever was stayed *there* also. Through all his after life he will remember these long hours, and hold them sacred. "Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more!" This was the angel's message, and the words stirred in his soul all its better feelings, and bowed it prostrate before the Infinite Love, by their very gentleness. They created within him resolves so high and strong that they could not fulfil themselves. He saw himself the selfish, weak, degraded thing his passions had made him; but he saw, also, the noble, gentle, self-forgetting man he might be; and, before leaving that room, he solemnly dedicated himself to all deeds of Christian charity and love. Thus, for a few moments, thinking of what life may be, he is hopeful and happy; but—but a shadow darkens the rose-tints, and he murmurs, sadly—"No happiness for me. I will be gentle, patient, humble, forbearing, by God's grace; but happy," and the mist in his eyes gathers into tears, "happy, I can never be!"

So he had risen up, and gone out among men again, a wiser, better man. He had refused to have his friends sent for during his illness. Indeed, his relatives were many miles distant, all save a distant cousin of his mother's, a merchant by the name of Lester, who had his residence some four miles from the city. He heard, by chance, of the illness of his young relative, and called, with his wife, at his boarding-house, to see him. He took an interest in the boy, and, as soon as he was strong enough to bear the journey, had insisted on taking him to his own house, to remain until he should be sufficiently recovered to bear the journey to Ireton. He has been Mr. Lester's guest for some days, but has left his room for the first time on the morning of which we speak.

He is not the only occupant of that room, for a lady sits by one of the windows, with a basket of worsted on the work-stand beside her, deep in the mysteries of a new stitch in *crochet*. She is not far from thirty-five, and would be handsome, were it not for the extreme thinness and sharpness of her features, and a narrow, calculating expression of countenance. Nor did the expression belie her. At once passionate and intensely selfish, Mrs. Lester was an exacting mistress, a fretful, unsympathizing wife, a selfish, scolding mother. The gods she worshipped were the world—that is, the world of fashion and *money*. Her excessive love of display was matched by an almost miserly parsimony, and avarice and vanity had many a warm contest for her soul, though in sooth it did sometimes seem as if it were too small a thing to quarrel about.

Vanity usually came off victor in these contests, but avarice solaced itself by beating down seamstresses and shopmen, and systematically scrimping and saving in the kitchen and larder. All her poor relations were of course *ignored*, while all those that were wealthy, or could boast of a fashionable standing in society, were very sedulously courted. It was this feeling that prompted her seeming kindness to Horace Gresham, whose father was a wealthy physician, a successful practitioner, whose fame extended far beyond the quiet country town where he had commenced practice and still continued to reside. His mother, too, was a daughter of one of the most distinguished families in the county, and admired for her refinement and womanly grace wherever she was known. Mrs. Lester did not appreciate these qualities herself, but she knew Mrs. Gresham was very much respected and admired, and she was glad to make the most of the distant relationship between her husband and Dr. Gresham. They were creditable, and she liked to speak of them to her fashionable acquaintances, and make a kind of public lamentation over the fact that Dr. Gresham could not be prevailed on to come up to the city, where he might enjoy so much more congenial society.

Such is Mrs. Lester, as she sits there *crocheting* by the pleasant parlor window. From the garden beyond comes the sound of childish voices; and occasionally Mrs. Lester lifts her head, and casts a hasty, nervous glance in that direction. At first, the voices sound as from a distance; but they gradually come nearer, until in full view before the window appears a boy of nine and a girl a year or two older, who with flushed faces and angry voices are disputing about some trifle. The mother looked up, not to interfere with the dispute, but to see that her flowers were safe from the inroads of those young, wayward feet, and, ascertaining this fact, went on with her embroidery; for she was in great haste to finish that covering to a sofa pillow, and had no time to spend in inquiring into the disputes of her children. Indeed, she never had; she was always in too much haste about something equally important, and never did find time to bestow on them anything more than a push or a blow—a proceeding which, unfortunately, had not added to the sweetness of their tempers or the gentleness of their manners.

Behind the disputants came two little girls, and at some distance in their rear appeared a small child, drawing a willow carriage, in which, half buried in embroidery, lay a baby. The child who had thus early taken up the office of a quadruped was a pale-cheeked, sad-eyed little girl, in a mourning dress, which, although of the cheapest material, looked neat beside the soiled fashionable finery of the other children. At length, the eldest girl, tired of quarrelling with her brother, looked back and shouted—

"Can't you come along faster? You are slower than a snail!"

The child quietly kept on at the same pace; and the boy, evidently to be contrary to his sister, cried out—

"Don't mind a single word she says, Milly! You are twice as good as she is, any day!"

"She *shall* mind me, Mr. Saucebox!" cried the girl, stamping her foot in a rage. "She shan't stay here if she don't. She don't half earn her victuals, and her father was a poor, good-for-nothing scamp — I heard mother say so myself—just such another one as you'll be, Alfred!"

The boy made a grimace significant of his contempt at her prediction; but the sad-eyed little girl, who had heard all, dropped the handle of the carriage, and, sitting down on the path, burst into tears.

"There, Clara, I should think you would be ashamed to make her cry," said the boy. "Hush, Milly," he went on; "don't cry. I'll always stand up for you. Come, I will draw baby for you."

"No you won't; I shall draw him myself!" said Clara, passionately.

But Alfred would not let go of the cart handle, and, amid angry words and blows and pinches, they struggled over the carriage until they upset it, breaking in its fall a magnificent dahlia, and landing little George's plump self in the midst of a bed of mignonette, where he kicked and screamed in a way that soon brought his mother to the field of action. Alfred and Clara fled as fast as their feet would carry them, but Milly was picking up George from his fragrant couch, when she was saluted by a whole shower of blows about her head and ears.

"You good-for-nothing, ungrateful, wicked little wretch!" cried Mrs. Lester, pale with passion, "just look at my beautiful dahlia—completely ruined! and that bed of mignonette — all crushed up! And little George might have been killed, if there had happened to have been a stone there; and 'twould have been all the same to you! This comes of taking children out of compassion! Now walk into the house, and don't let me catch you setting foot in the garden again!"

"Oh, it wasn't my fault, aunt Harriet!" began the child; but, with another box on the ear, the exasperated woman said—

"Hush! You needn't think you can get out of the scrape by laying the blame to the children. Lies don't go down with me. You were drawing George, for I saw you. Stop; not another word out of your mouth!" she repeated, seeing the child about to speak. "You needn't stand there, looking so impudent!"

Milly had stood, looking wonderingly in Mrs. Lester's face, as if scarcely comprehending this outburst, and patiently waiting to be heard; but, at these last words, she drew her childish figure up a little, as if she disdained to defend herself against such barefaced injustice. But childish pride is never so strong as childish grief; and the moment after, she turned aside, and, leaning her head upon her little hands, wept tears all the more bitter because she struggled to repress them. She started, as a hand was laid gently on her head, and a grave-toned voice said—"Don't cry so, my dear; I know you are not to blame;" but the eyes of Horace Gresham, looking down kindly into her face, only made her cry the more, while he advanced a few paces towards Mrs. Lester, who, at his unexpected appearance, had suddenly turned her whole attention to the baby, and said—

"You are mistaken, cousin. I saw and heard the whole affair from the window, while you were sorting your worsteds. The blame should fall on Master Alfred and Clara, more especially Clara, who was in a violent passion at the time."

Horace spoke very quietly, as if his simple statement of the truth would suffice to set the matter right; but, to his surprise, she made no apology, direct or indirect, for her unjust treatment of Milly, but muttered something about her fear that that "precious Georgy had been hurt." She was exceedingly mortified and vexed that Horace had witnessed her explosion, and angrier than ever at Milly, whom she still chose to regard as the cause of it. She felt conscious that she had exhibited herself in a very unamiable light; besides, she was especially anxious to have Clara appear well before the Greshams.

Like other prudent, thoughtful mothers, she looked forward to the time when Mrs. Gresham's influence, and her connection with some of the first families in the State, would be of great advantage to her daughter. Under ordinary circumstances, could Clara have been found, Mrs. Lester would not have hesitated to have bestowed on her both words and cuffs; but now she had an end to gain. Besides, her passion had subsided into mortification; so, to put the best face on the matter, she turned to Horace, and said, with one of her pleasantest smiles—

"You are young, cousin Horace. When you have half a dozen children to deal with, you will not wonder that one sometimes loses patience. Milly," she added, "go into the house and tell Bridget to come and take baby."

"Who is Millicent, cousin?" asked Horace, as the girl went towards the house.

"The daughter of my half-sister, Millicent? Did you never hear of her unfortunate marriage? She was a great sorrow to us. She is now dead." And Mrs. Lester's face assumed a look of injured innocence, that an angel might have been supposed to wear.

Horace felt that he had stumbled on a delicate subject. He had heard of Millicent Gray, as a gentle, lovely girl, kept in close subjection by her imperious step-mother and her passionate-minded father. He had promised her hand in marriage to a wealthy, unprincipled man, whose fancy had been touched by her artless beauty, without even the show of consulting her wishes; and partly won by the hope that her new home would prove less irksome and unhappy than that of her father, and partly in obedience to his commands, she had married this man, who soon dissipated his property, and left for some of the Southern cities. The father did not dare to shut his door against the homeless creature, whom his own command had doomed to this marriage; even the step-mother felt that public opinion would cry out at a step like that; but there were many ways in which she contrived to make the bread of dependence exceedingly bitter to her. The father was exceedingly angry at her husband's mad dissipation, and his wife skilfully managed to keep alive this anger; and because Millicent would not join in the execrations heaped upon him, they came to view her as equally guilty. Her husband had been, in his way, fond of her, and had treated her with more consideration than she had received from her own family; and in her gentle, womanly heart, she cherished the memory of the good, and would willingly have forgotten the evil. Therefore, when she finally received a letter from him, intimating a wish that she should join him, she was only too glad to go and share that wandering life from which she had little hope of ever being able to reclaim him. But the step-mother did not manage in vain; two years after, when old Mr. Gray died, it was found that herself and her daughter, the present Mrs. Lester, were the sole heirs of his large property. The daughter of his dead wife was not even mentioned. There was a good deal of indignation expressed in the neighborhood, when the truth became known; but all this died into silence, and little was afterwards heard of Millicent and her husband for some years. Such was the story Mrs. Lester's words recalled, and Horace looked pityingly at the little girl as she appeared, coming down the walk with Bridget, thinking that her motherless lot was sadder in the house of her aunt, than her own mother's had been before her.

"Come," said Mrs. Lester, in her blandest manner, "you must not over-exert yourself. You had best come in and rest a while on the sofa."

"No, thank you, cousin Harriet. I am really strong this morning. It is so refreshing to get out into the sunlight again. I think a short stroll among your beautiful flowers will be more beneficial than the sofa."

"Be sure you do not go too far, then," she said, "and I will see that those unruly children do not disturb you."

[REMAINDER OF CHAP. II NEXT WEEK.]

For the National Era.

LEONARD WRAY.

A ROMANCE OF MODERN HISTORY.

By the author of "The Chronicles of the Bastile," "The Embassy," "The Yule Log," "Philip of Lutetia," &c.

CHAP. XXIV.

Mark Aveling and Gaetano Pelligrini experience a check.

"Come, Zach, rouse up. What do you want with me? Here I am."

It is Leonard who speaks, as he lustily shakes the sleeper, who is difficult to awaken, and does not seem at all disposed to hurry; at last he arouses himself with an effort, and sits up in the bed.

"Possible! Leonard!" says Grit; "well, guess it's the most oncomfortablest feeling a man gets hold on, a wakin' up when he don't want tu, 'xcept it is not agoin' to sleep when he's in the mind."

Leonard hopes he will soon get over it. He is very anxious to know what he so particularly wished to see him about, so early.

"Well, I hearn say you'd come back, Leonard," responds Grit, "and the *garsong*, as they calls him, and a precious queer soug I say be is—yes, sir—told me you come back alone. That a fact?"

"Quite true, Grit. And what then?"

"Why, now, you jes' tell me all that's come to you, Leonard, whiles I performs my *ablutions;* and then, if I don't make you cry oh, my! never you call me Zach any more—no, never."

Zach proceeds to operate upon himself at the toilet table, and Leonard, taking a seat, commences his narrative.

"We got away capitally," he says, "and succeeded in obtaining an interview with the President."

"Cock-a-doodle!" screeches Zach, soaping his chin.

"He received us cordially, and listened with attention to all we had to say," resumed Leonard. "He then penned a brief note to his cousin, the Princess Mathilde, and bade me conduct Mildred to her, which I did. There I left her."

"Yankee doodle!" cries Zach, at the risk of cutting his nose.

"The Prince advised me," continues Leonard, "to return to the hotel, and he would take such measures as should assure my personal safety. He asked a great many questions about Mark and the lawyer, and made notes as I answered them. I cannot say I perceived the drift of his inquiries, but they all indicated an interest in my position; so I answered them without reserve."

"Have you done?" inquires Zach.

"Quite," is Leonard's response. "I have only to add, that he asked a good many questions about you."

"Pity I wan't there to answer 'um, Leonard," observes Grit. "Hows'ever, I may have the chance yet. Now comes my turn. Jes' you take and unlock that yar secretary; you'll find the key in my wais'coat pocket."

Leonard finds the key, unlocks the *secretaire*, and sees, piled upon the lower shelf, a large bundle of bank-notes, and several piles of gold and silver pieces. He is very much astonished, and asks where it all came from.

"Maybe," observes Zach, in the intervals between brushing his hair and employing his tooth-brush, "it wan't come by 'xactly as very strait-up people calls honest. But, you know, Leonard, some folks has got tarnation queer notions 'bout honesty. I got it—leastways we did, for there was two on us—whar ten times more's been lost over and over again. I've come to the conclusion as it's all chance, or luck, anyways."

"You've been gambling, Zach," observes Leonard, "and been fortunate."

"Well, that's a fact, Leonard. It aint o' no use a denyin' on it. We played, lose and win, win and lose, till a streak of luck come, and we broke the bank; yes, sir! and here's Columbia's share of the winnin's."

"You must have won largely, Zach. How much?"

"Can't say. Aint never reckoned it up. Guess it's a good smart sum, though, for one haul. But it was all luck. It aint made me a convert to the critter's system o' figgers, though; no, sir! And I'm done with gamblin', Leonard, as I'm the livin' son of my mother. No good never comes on it, noways as I ever seen, and I've had my two eyes wide open ever since I larnt how to wink."

"And your companion, Zach. Who is he?" asks Leonard.

"It wouldn't si'nify to tell you his name," replies Zach, "nor I don't kear to tell what I knows on him. He's been a friend to you and Milly, though, for it was he told me about Mark's bargain with that yer 'ily-tongued lawyer. But let him go whar he *is* goin', if there is such a place. What I wants to say is this, Leonard: Are you a mind to buy yourself off of Mark Aveling?"

Leonard is silent. For the moment he does not comprehend. Zach observes his embarrassment, and proceeds to elucidate:

"Because, ef you aire in the mind, Leonard," he says, "and there's money enough thar to do it, why, it's yourn and welcome, for all the kind turns you done me when I've been in want on 'em."

Leonard is now even more embarrassed than before. He is quite overcome by the unexpectedness and the generosity of Zach's offer—so much so that he cannot reply.

"I means it, Leonard," resumes Grit, coming up to his friend and taking his hand. "You ha' stood atwixt me and Judge Lynch quite once, and been a friend when I wanted one more than I did a meal's victuals. It aint much I asks you in return—it's on'y to take it, and say no more about it."

"Zach! you are a noble-hearted fellow," responds Leonard, "and from the very bottom of my heart I thank you. But I do not think I ought to accept your offer."

"In course you don't think so," retorts Grit, "seein' we're e'en a'most strangers to each other, and oughter stand nice. I guess it's because the money aint come clean by, 'cordin' to your notions; but it was won fair; though maybe gamblin' aint the most respectablest way a-goin' o' makin' money. Hows'ever, there it is. Will you have it?"

"Zach, I do not see any way to accepting it," replies Leonard. "In the first place—even if I could approve of the means whereby it was obtained—I have no security"——

Zach utters an exclamation of some vehemence, which may be left to the imagination of the reader to supply. It has the effect of stopping Leonard in the course of his observations, who, seeing his friend appears as much hurt as angry, does not continue them. When Zach has vented his wrath, however, he promises to consider of the proposition, and reiterates his thanks. This somewhat mollifies Grit, who, being now dressed, goes to his bed-side, and taking from beneath his pillow the long-bladed knife which he constantly carries concealed about his person, is about to thrust it into the leg of his boot, when Leonard stops him.

"Why, Zach," he says, "what have you there?"

"On'y a reg'lar Arkansaw tooth-pick," responds Grit, still in a stooping posture. "It's convenient sometimes."

"Let me see it?" says Leonard, extending his hand.

Grit hesitates a moment or two, but presently holds it out, saying nothing, but watching his friend as he examines it. This he does, at first, just as if out of mere curiosity, when he all at once turns pale, and the weapon drops from his hand.

"It aint hot, neither," observes Zach, picking it up.

"Mark Aveling!" said Leonard, earnestly. "His! How came you by it?"

Grit is silent for a moment or two. When he again addresses Leonard, his countenance is serious—disturbed even—and he speaks in a grave tone of voice.

"Can you bear to hear it, Leonard?" he inquires.

"I am not womanish," he responds. "Go on."

"Sit down, then, Leonard, for it's long some," replies Grit, seating himself opposite to his friend, the table being between them. "There's murder in it, and ef I aint tell'd you on it afore, it was on account of her I wouldn't make onhappy—no, not for bright worlds in all eternity."

"You mean—Milly," gasps Leonard.

"That's a fact, Leonard, I do mean her," retorts Grit. "She's been a streak o' sunshine in many's the dark and lonesome paths in my vagabond life, has your sister, Miss Milly. I've tried to live up *tu* her, Leonard, but she was alers so fur, fur up, it was like lookin' up at the stars, and tryin' to get to em, for all I could ever do to be a man worthy of such as she. Hows'ever, that's gone by—leastways the hardest part on it. When poor Ned Wilmot come in atwixt her and me, I found out, for the first time, how low down I was, and I made up my heart hard agin ever thinkin' on her any more, as I used to think on her up to then. It was real hard, though; and many's the cruel times I had a gettin' seasoned to that sorrow."

"Poor Zach," ejaculates Leonard, in a tone of deep commiseration.

"But, as I was a sayin'," resumes Grit, "that time's gone by; and when I looks at her now, it's on'y to feel I've been a worshippin' on her in a dream, and that she's further off me now than ever."

Zach did not pursue his observations for some moments. His eyes were moist, Leonard noticed, and his agitation was quite perceptible. Presently, however, he resumed:

"I was a speakin' of Ned Wilmot. Poor fellow! I wish I hadn't got to tell of that I knows on. I might ha' done it afore, but the time wa'nt come. Mark Aveling's got to answer for what become of the poor youth. I seen him do it, Leonard!"

Leonard, aghast, scarcely all at once comprehending, yet instinctively grasping at the clue thus afforded to the fate of the young man, gives utterance to his feelings and to his suspicious in one portentous word, which Zach repeats, after a pause:

"Murdered! Yes, and I seen him do it. And that knife"——

"Oh, monster in human form!" exclaims Leonard. "Our suspicions, then, were only too true. But tell me all. I am impatient to hear."

Zach proceeds gravely to narrate the dreadful tale, dwelling on particular incidents, so as to connect them with certain circumstances yet fresh in Leonard's mind. When he has concluded, Leonard reproachfully exclaims:

"And you could know this, and keep the facts from us? Zach, this was not well."

"It was as well as could be, Leonard," retorts Grit, "under the circumstances. You were in his grip, hard as a vice, and Milly might ha' been kidnapped. I give you the information that made you get off to the North, and from there over here, and I kep' my eye on Mark for a long while, meanin' to let him know more about it some day. Besides, I couldn't ha' fetched the witnesses without betrayin' the secrets of the runaway niggers in the swamp, who many a day and night kep' me, and fed me, 'caus' they know'd I was to be trusted. But you knows all now. I aint been quite cl'ar, maybe, lookin' at the thing straight in the eye, but I done for the best."

"Poor Ned Wilmot," ejaculates Leonard. "Milly always said he had been murdered. But we will see whether justice cannot overtake him."

"Well, justice has got powerful long arms, that's a fact," remarks Grit; "but she's got tarnation greasy fingers, tu. Yes, sir; and she can't alers hold them she cotches, 'specially when the customer's wriggley, like Mark. Still, there aint no harm a tryin', for if he's caged, he'll be out o' the way o' doin' more mischief to you and Milly."

They are interrupted in this conversation by a loud knocking at the door, which is thrust open before either has time to bid the party to enter. It proves to be Mark and Gaetano, who, on seeing Leonard and Grit both there, exchange glances of satisfaction.

The pause that ensues is embarrassing. Leonard turns pale with excitement, but Grit remains perfectly calm, and, pulling his friend by the coat to admonish him, at once addresses the intruders:

"Glad to see you, Mark," he says, "though your'e not welcome, for I've got business to settle with you and the lawyer there. Come quite in, and shut to the door."

"We have business, too, with you, Mr. Grit," retorts Mark, savagely. "It will be sharp work, I promise you."

"The sharper the better for me, Mark," is Zach's rejoinder; "so speak up, and when you're done, cl'ar out."

"You were at a gambling-house last night," says Mark.

"Well, I might ha' been. I shan't say whether or no. Possible I was. What of it?"

"You went with a man—this gentleman's clerk—one Martin, who won a large sum of money, and whom you conveyed home in a hackney-coach," continues Mark.

"Can't see daylight through that, yet," retorts Grit.

"You were with him the whole day, too," pursues Aveling, "and, for anything I know to the contrary, may have been with him more than was good for either of you. Any how, last night this man had upon his person some most important papers, which have disappeared. We have seen him, and he says he put them up into his pocket. Where are they?"

"Keep cool, Mark," retorts Zach, "and we shall do business, some, I can see. Was one ou 'em a deed—a mortgage deed—consarnin' of Mr. Leonard's property?"

"He knows about them," mutters Gaetano to Aveling.

"What signifies to you what they were?" growls the latter, addressing Zach. "You have taken them, and we intend to have them."

"I aint said I took 'em, nor I aint said I aint got 'em," says Zach. "Ef I *have* got 'em, I don't mean to give 'em up."

"We shall see," replies Aveling. "Monsieur Pelligrini, do me the favor to step round the corner, to the guard-house, and fetch me a *sergeant-de-ville** and the commissary of police."

"Hadn't you better wait, Mister," exclaims Grit, addressing the attorney, "till I tells you a little more about 'em. I guess the police will have to take more than me away, ef you're in too big a hurry. Come, I'll say I've got the mortgage deed, and the bond; but I want to do the thing that's right, Mark; so, afore you goes any further, jes' you listen to me."

For some reason, Gaetano is in no hurry to go after the guard. He is, therefore, only too glad of some excuse to delay, though it is with secret misgivings he awaits the coming statement from Zach. Leonard has neither risen nor offered yet to speak. He remains an anxious, eager listener and spectator.

"I've got some money, Mark, that's lightly come," pursues Grit, "and I wants to put it to good use. There's enough to buy up your claim agin Leonard here. Now"——

"I must interpose," interrupts Leonard——

"You set still, Leonard, and let me manage this time," says Zach, authoritatively. "I owes you a long debt, and I'm free to chuse my own way of payin' on it. I offers, then, Mark, to pay you what Leonard owes you, providin' you give him a discharge in full. I suppose you're agreeable."

"I'll lose my right hand first," exclaims Aveling, crimson with rage and astonishment, and casting a vindictive glance at Leonard.

"I don't kear to press it, Mark," pursues Grit, "on'y for your own sake. I'll put it to you agin. Will you be paid off?"

"No! I won't," shouts Mark, in answer. "I have reasons for refusing"——

"Which I will assist you to, sir," observes Leonard, rising. "I know of the diabolical plot you and that trembling villain at your side had hatched up, and I know, too, that I am standing in the presence of a murderer. Ah! You turn pale. Beware, sir! You stand on dangerous ground."

"I defy you both," exclaims Mark, "to prove what you assert. Do not think to frighten me, by threats. Do your worst. I am quite prepared. Meanwhile, Mister Zachariah Grit, give up those papers!"

"Not ef I can help, it, Mark," is the cool rejoinder. "They are out of harm's way, be sure; but ef you'll accept the offer I made"——

"Not for ten times the amount, counted down," retorts he.

"You'll repent it, Mark, I tell you," resumed Zach. "The rats hearn you and the lawyer yonder—you knows when."

Gaetano is evidently much agitated. He remembers, at once, the incident of the noise in the cupboard, behind the chair in his den, and so does Mark. They speak apart, in low whispers, but Aveling will not listen to his companion. He again turns round, and defies Zach and Leonard to do their worst.

"And if you do not, or will not, go after the guard, Mister Attorney," he adds, speaking fiercely to Gaetano, "let me pass, and you stay here to keep guard!"

"No fear of our runnin' away," observes Grit, "especially as I can hear more company a comin' up the stairs."

Gaetano's quick ear has also caught the sound of heavy feet ascending the stairs. His countenance turns ghastly pale, for he recognises the tramp of soldiers. He gazes vacantly at Mark, who, unsuspicious of any impending danger, is in the act of bantering him, when the commissary of police enters, followed by a little thin man in rusty black, and by two municipal guards and their corporal, who, grounding their arms, take up their post at the door, inside. The unexpected arrival of these parties causes a dead silence, which is broken by the commissary.

"Loriot," says this functionary, addressing the little man in rusty black, "which are the two men you have been following these last two days?"

"Those," replies the spy, pointing to Mark and Gaetano.

"Corporal, arrest them!" continues the commissary.

It is in vain for Mark to struggle. With an oath on his lips, he is seized, and Gaetano also finds himself a prisoner at the same moment.

"It is useless being violent," observes the commissary, speaking to Mark. "Will you please pass on?"

"But what is my offence?" demands Aveling, looking askance at the shining muskets and the glistening bayonets, and at the four soldiers outside.

"I have no reply to give. Our orders are to arrest Monsieur," replies the officer. "But, to make things more agreeable, you are privileged to call a coach. Will it please you have one?"

With a very ill grace, Mark expresses his desire to avoid being paraded through the streets between a file of soldiers. The commissary bows, and precedes his party down stairs, and, in the course of a few minutes, Leonard and Zach see them depart, each prisoner in a separate vehicle, accompanied by two soldiers.

When they are gone, Leonard has a glimmering of the motives of the President, in asking him so many questions.

* A police officer, only a military man.

THE GREAT MOSQUITO SCHEME.

Interesting Correspondence between the Nicaraguan Minister, Secretary Marcy, and the Nicaragua Transit Company, &c.

LEGATION OF NICARAGUA,
New York, November 22, 1854.

On the 4th of May last, the undersigned had the honor to address to the Department of State a communication conveying a protest against an association which, under the title of "Central American Land and Mining Company," has been formed in New York; and covering, at the same time, a historic sketch of its origin, tendencies, and objects.

In the performance of his proper duties, the undersigned has attentively observed the steps and the development of the projects of said company, and has now the moral conviction, as well as the evidence, that its members and associates contemplate a violation of the laws of this Republic, and an invasion of the Territory of Nicaragua.

The *Herald*, of New York, of the 17th instant, contains an article which confirms previous suspicions, and sustains the actual proofs in the case; but notwithstanding the little faith that may be supposed to attach to newspaper rumors, in which speculation generally overbalances truth, still the possible exaggeration, in this case, does not weaken the facts, nor discredit the reality of the danger.

The American Union has given to the world repeated proofs and guarantees of its respect for the laws and the rights of the countries with which it is at peace and harmony. The proclamations of its illustrious President against the Walker expedition in California, and against the various illegal designs on the island of Cuba, show clearly the right views of the Administration which now so wisely directs the destinies of this great Republic.

The tenacity with which Great Britain has sustained, and sustains to-day, her protectorate, over the Mosquito coast, has given, more than once, occasion to the American Government, principally at recent periods, to declare that the sovereignty over the said coast belongs, and has always belonged, to the Republic of Nicaragua. Such declaration—or, better, such acknowledgment—has been reproduced and confirmed by the diplomatic agents of the Union in Nicaragua, in their frequent official relations and communications with the Government of that Republic.

There is not, then, any doubt of the legitimacy of the rights and sovereignty of Nicaragua over all the country comprised between the Atlantic and the Pacific seas, with all the adjacent islands, and over all the territory formerly called the "Province of Nicaragua," including the region generally known under the name of the "Mosquito coast."

The invasion with which Nicaragua is now threatened has been conceived and will be accomplished, if at all, by American citizens, whose nationality should be a sufficient motive for them to abstain from participation and complicity in a project highly reproved by the morality, by the honor, justice, and by the laws of the United States.

Invasion, force, violence, lead, and the revolver, are not to-day the efficacious elements of civilization; nor are they the means and weapons whereby intelligence and industry secures its conquests for the benefit of the human family. Nor are they likely to inspire friendship or constitute links in the chain which should bind together different nations in a common brotherhood.

The Hon. Secretary of State will recollect the assurances and guarantees which the undersigned has given to the American Government of the cordial welcome which those who wish to employ their industry and capital in the country, for purposes of common utility, will be sure to find in Nicaragua. But at the same time he must manifest again to the Hon. Secretary of State, that the orders and instructions of his Government devolve upon him the sacred duty to oppose all enterprises which have not previously received the sanction of the competent authorities of the country.

The undersigned, confiding in the friendly and sincere disposition of the Government of the Union towards Nicaragua, cannot but invoke the application of the principles of neutrality and of the laws of this Republic, against all enterprises, whatever they may be, which may injure or contravene the rights and the interests of Nicaragua. And in the most earnest and cordial manner he begs the Hon. Secretary of State to be pleased to cause appropriate orders to be issued, for the purpose of preventing the departure from the ports of the Union, but especially from New Orleans and New York, of any expedition or any vessels whose ostensible or secret purpose be to violate the laws of both Republics, and also that such orders may be given to the commanders of the vessels of war of the United States in the Caribbean sea, or cruising in the vicinity of San Juan, as shall prevent the landing of such expeditions as may be open to reasonable suspicions.

The undersigned avails himself, &c., &c.,
J. DE MARCOLETA.

Hon. W. L. Marcy, Secretary of State of the U. S., Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 30, 1854.

The undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of Mr. Marcoleta, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Republic of Nicaragua, of the 22d instant, referring to his former note of the 4th May last, in relation to the organization and objects of the "Central American Land and Mining Company."

In reply to Mr. Marcoleta's observations, the undersigned has to state that the association referred to is not understood to be an expedition fitting out for any hostile object against any Government with which the United States are at peace, but is—what it professes to be—an association for business purposes.

In this view of the case, it is not a proceeding in violation of the laws of the United States or of the duties of neutrality. When these citizens, having a peaceful pursuit in view, arrive in another country, they will be subject to the laws of that country, and their conduct must be in conformity to those laws. This Government has no authority to prohibit or interpose to prevent them from going out, and no control whatever over them after they have gone beyond its jurisdiction.

The undersigned avails, &c.,
W. L. MARCY.

To Senor Don Jose de Marcoleta, &c.

LEGATION OF NICARAGUA,
New York, December 11, 1854.

The undersigned has informed himself of the contents of the note of the Hon. Secretary of State of the 30th ultimo, in reply to that which this legation had the honor to send on the 22d of the same month, asking for the application of the neutrality laws of the United States against certain American citizens, who, under specious pretexts, intend to violate the rights and the territory of the Republic of Nicaragua.

The Hon. Secretary of State, who, according to the terms of his said note, seems to consider this grave matter under a different point of view, declines to accede to the just wishes of the Government of Nicaragua, because he does not consider them applicable to the actual case, and on account of the peaceful character of the company referred to, which company, it is alleged, is an association for "business purposes."

The undersigned cannot but express the deep regret produced in his mind by the contents of the communication of the Secretary of State of the 30th of November last, because it seems to him that, in the said communication, the character and the circumstances of the association referred to are entirely misconceived and overlooked.

What is the origin and what is the character of this company?

A concession obtained, in 1839, by some individuals of Jamaica, in the midst of the excesses and disorders of a disgusting orgie, from the brutal intemperance of the chief of an Indian tribe—a concession annulled subsequently by the successors of that chief, and fraudulently transferred to certain American speculators, who, in a hotel in New York, undertake to dispose, without the slightest authority, of almost thirty millions of acres of foreign property! This property is distributed by them in portions of one hundred and fifty acres, and held out as an inducement to the innumerable class of persons who abound in the populous cities of the United States.

This is public and notorious; and, perhaps, the Hon. Secretary of State may be aware that part of the "business" of that company is to establish within the Territory of Nicaragua a new "Republic," with a foreign President! That is to say, to organize a *status in statu* which will contribute to augment the confusion and the anarchy of a country now unhappily rent by political convulsions, which strangers may have contributed in a great part to bring about.

Such is the "peaceful object," and such the "business," of this company—such the purpose of the men who are connected with it, and who, with or without the consent of Nicaragua, intend to make an irruption on the territory of a friendly State, and to appropriate to themselves the property of others.

Even on the hypothesis of such "peaceful object" as may be claimed for this company, what is the title whereby its members arrogate to themselves the right to put their feet on the soil of a foreign country, which openly opposes their plans, which protests against them, and which declares that no concession whatever will be recognised, unless it has previously received the assent of the constitutional authority of the country?

The undersigned, without intending to interfere in the acts nor in the questions merely domestic of the American Union, may, nevertheless, be allowed to quote the authority of the Supreme Magistrate of this Republic, in whose message to the Congress, on the 4th instant, it is proclaimed as a recognised principle, that the Central American States are the only ones which have inherited from Spain the sovereignty and the lawful jurisdiction over that entire country.

It would be easy to accumulate quotations from many eminent American statesmen in support of the right and of the justice of Nicaragua in this case, but it is now sufficient to call the attention of the honorable Secretary of State to the following words of the Hon. John M. Clayton on the ratification of the treaty which bears his illustrious name:

"We have not recognised, nor can we recognise, the pretensions to sovereignty of the Mosquito King, nor of any other Indian in America. To do so would be to deny the rights of the United States over our own proper territory."

But, leaving out of view these principles and just considerations, the undersigned cannot understand how it is possible to deny to the company referred to an unlawful, aggressive, hostile, and criminal character, so long as remains in full vigor and strength the treaty of the 30th April, 1850, in which the United States and England bound themselves reciprocally not "to colonize Costa Rica, Nicaragua,

the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America;" a treaty which was published in order that the citizens whom it concerns should observe and fulfill its conditions with the respect due to the public faith thus solemnly pledged.

As a powerful weapon, and as an effective argument against the British protectorate on the Mosquito coast, this treaty has been adduced in England—a treaty, which is now about to be violated by a handful of individuals, who, from their position and political influence, ought to be the most interested in the completest observance of all of its clauses.

The undersigned having exhausted every argument to show the illegality of the company referred to, and the justice with which Nicaragua opposes its plans and projects, knowing in a positive manner that the preliminaries have been taken for their consummation, and that the aggressors will soon start from New York, New Orleans, or Galveston, for San Juan de Nicaragua; in view of the event that the just representations of the Government of Nicaragua shall not produce the desired effect—that is to say, the most complete dissolution of the existing association, and in virtue of his sacred and imperious duty, he makes here the most complete assertion of the undoubted rights of his Government, as applicable to this case, in order that it may adopt such measures as circumstances may require to vindicate the same; and at the same time he protests in the most solemn manner, before God, and before the nations and Governments of the civilized world, against the association or company referred to, against all of its plans and projects, and against the aggressions which it meditates on the territory, the rights, and the sovereignty of Nicaragua.

The undersigned deeply regrets the necessity of making this protest, and especially that he is obliged to put himself in opposition to the ideas and opinions, in the premises, of the Hon. Secretary of State. Availing myself of the opportunity, &c., I am, &c.

J. de Marcoleta.

To the Hon. W. L. Marcy, &c.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1855.

HOW IT GOES.

A sound-hearted Minister, who finds nothing very alarming in our advocacy of Human Rights, without regard to race or religion, thought he would see what he could do at a post office where no *Eras* were taken. As the result, he sends us ten new subscribers, and says, "We are much pleased, particularly as we are rather a benighted people in Pike, having given a majority of all our votes at the last election for Know Nothing Silver Gray Ullmann."

At how many more post offices, where no *Eras* are now taken, might clubs be got up by a little effort?

A good subscriber in Vermont, renewing a club, says:

"Several of your subscribers here are Know Nothings; but we mean to be no less Free Soil therefor. If a collision arise between the two, it will be *Free Soil* first, *Know Nothingism nowhere.*"

A Know Nothing, hearing through the New York *Independent*, (to whose friendly notice we are much indebted,) that those of our subscribers who belong to that Order were extensively abandoning us, orders the *Era* forthwith. He does not go for that kind of proscription. A minister of the Gospel up in Maine, having failed to renew his subscription, owing to the "hard times," hearing of the great defection, determined at once to send on again. Speaking of a brother minister, who was about to stop his *Era* on account of its opposition to the Know Nothings, he says:

"After conversing a while, and comparing articles in the *Era* and *Tribune*, with articles in the *American Organ*, he has become convinced, as the Free-Soilers in this section are generally beginning to be, that your views of the movement are correct."

So he sticks to the *Era*.

In Marblehead, a Know Nothing sends us a club, and tells that it is composed chiefly of members of that Order, others not belonging to it having fallen off.

We wish we could say that such cases are not exceptions. Unfortunately, they are not generally so tolerant. An excellent friend, enclosing us a list from Natick, Massachusetts, informs us of an extensive defection there. He says:

"The greatest reason of all urged at this time is your position on the Know Nothing Question. I think that as many as thirty of the last year's subscribers have refused to renew on this ground."

We are bound to say that this is a fairer illustration of the dealings of Know Nothingism with us, than the cases above referred to.

SUBSCRIBERS

Can still be supplied with back numbers from the beginning of the year, or from the time when their papers were stopped. We hope those of our friends who can still add to our list, will keep up their efforts. Let them do as much as they may, unluckily they cannot make good the defection of the many alienated by opposition to the new *ism*.

THE COLUMBIAN.

The *Columbian*, published at Columbus, Ohio, has passed into the hands of our friend, A. M. Gangewer. It has always been one of the first class of journals in point of ability and fidelity to the Anti-Slavery cause, and so it will continue to be under the charge of Mr. Gangewer, a man of sound judgment, great industry, strict conscientiousness, well versed in the politics of the country, and fully appreciating the position and exigencies of the cause of Freedom. Next week we shall publish his prospectus, for which we regret there is no room in our columns this week.

REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

Congress has not distinguished itself by its industry the past week. Of the speeches made, that of Mr. Gillette, in the Senate, in opposition to Mr. Badger's bill, and that of Mr. Chandler, in the House, against Know Nothingism, were the most noteworthy. Mr. Gillette told the Senators plainly that their services were not worth the per diem now paid them, and dealt some home thrusts about tobacco-chewing and tippling. Mr. Chandler devoted himself particularly to proving that the Catholic Church is not, as is often charged, a political body. His speech at one time was so eloquent as to compel an outburst of applause from the House and galleries.

The bill to reorganize the Judiciary of the United States still lingers in the Senate. The defeat of the Land Graduation bill in the House, and of the Homestead substitute, is commonly attributed to Know Nothingism, the bills having failed to confine the benefits of grants to *citizens*.

On our outside pages, the reader will find an earnest protest by Nicaragua, through her minister, against the Kinney Expedition. Our Government is clearly giving countenance to this undertaking.

The Messages of the Governors of the States are important, as showing the spirit of the combinations by which they have been elected. Governor Clark is thoroughly Anti-Slavery and Anti-Intemperance. Governor Morrill, of Maine, is no less so. He takes the broad ground occupied by the Independent Democratic or Free Soil organization. The union of the Anti-Nebraska members of the Legislature of that State seems to be perfect. As to Governor Gardner's message, it is fiercely Anti-Foreign and Anti-Catholic, softly Temperance, and so innocently Anti-Slavery, that its author would pass muster in any Know Nothing Lodge in Virginia.

The Legislatures now in session attract much attention. Augustus Cæsar Dodge is to be succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Harlan, of Iowa, a Fusionist. Missouri is ballotting, but, so far, in vain. Doniphan, Whig, leads—but, unless there be a coalition between the Nullifiers and the Whigs, or the Whigs and Benton men, there can be no election. The Anti-Nebraska members in the Illinois Legislature have a small majority, and they will make an effort to elect a Senator in the place of General Shields.

A similar election is soon to be held in the Wisconsin Legislature. A correspondent in Indianapolis apprehends that the Legislature of that State will choose a Conservative Whig, Know Nothing, to succeed Pettit. Precious result, that would be, of the great Revolution. In Massachusetts, Henry Wilson has been nominated as candidate for the Senate by a majority of the House; but the favorite of the Senate is said to be Mr. Ely.

The Ohio Pierce Democracy has held its Convention, and, as usual, put forth a creed like Joseph's coat, of many colors. It denounces Slavery, goes for its mitigation and eradication, adopts the Baltimore platform, which denounces Slavery agitation, pronounces the Fugitive Slave Act a finality, and pledges the power of the Democratic party to support all movements against Slavery. It praises the President's veto of the River and Harbor Bill; goes for Lake Harbor and River Improvements; and, finally, denounces Know Nothingism and Senator Adams's Bill.

The Public Mind continues to be agitated by Know Nothingism. Our correspondence on the fourth page of the *Era* shows how the current is setting among Anti-Slavery men. We have no hesitation in announcing that the great body of the old Anti-Slavery men are taking ground against the new Party.

The news from Europe by the Baltic is not important. The Allies are carrying forward their works, and the Russians are repulsed in every sortie they attempt. The speech of Napoleon, which we print in another place, breathes nothing but war.

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS AND HIS PARTY.

Our readers will find on the fourth page an abstract of the principal topics of the Message of Governor Gardner, of Massachusetts. The entire document fills nearly five of the large columns of the *Boston Telegraph*, in small and solid type. Three-fifths of it are devoted to matters connected with our foreign-born population and the Catholics. Twenty-seven lines are dedicated to Temperance, and about double the number to some collateral issues of the Slavery Question. It is evident that the Governor sees no great evil in anything but Foreigners; Rum and Slavery are altogether minor considerations:

"In defiance of the principles asserted by the dominant national party in their last Presidential Convention, in disregard, too, of the pledges of the President in his Inaugural Address, sectional issues have been reopened by the wanton violation of plighted national faith on the part of the Congress and the Executive, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which fixed a northern limit to the extension of Slavery. The first result of this pernicious action was to shock the moral sentiment of the community, and to excite fears that all constitutional and legal barriers against the diffusion of this acknowledged evil would, from time to time, be swept away. It has moved men's minds at the North to an extent no other political occurrence has done within the memory of the present generation. Its ultimate effect will and should be, to determine us, by the consideration of every sacred and holy duty, to manfully demand the restoration of this broken compact, and to jealously guard each and every right that belongs to Massachusetts.

"While we acknowledge our fealty to the Constitution and the Laws, the oft-repeated cry of disunion heralds no real danger to our ears. While honestly conceding the common duties evoked by the Articles of Confederation, we will preserve inviolate the State Rights retained for each sovereign member of that Confederacy. With fraternal feelings to all her sister States, and filial devotion to their common parent, yet with acknowledged rights and determination that they may be maintained, there stands Massachusetts.

"Of those rights, the two cardinal ones are, the *habeas corpus* and the trial by jury. It is submitted to your deliberations, whether additional legislation is required to secure either of these to our fellow-citizens. Scrupulously avoid such action as asserts or looks to the maintenance of any rights not clearly and constitutionally ours, but weave every safeguard you justly may round those primal birthrights, older than our national birthday, and dear as its continued existence."

And this is all. It was our impression that the People of Massachusetts regarded the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as but one of a series of acts belonging to a comprehensive scheme of Slaveholding aggression; as another flagrant evidence of a settled purpose in the Slave Interest to use the Federal Government as the instrument of its continual aggrandizement; as designed to establish a principle, in virtue of which territorial acquisitions might hereafter be made, and converted at the same time to the uses of Slavery. We were under the impression that at least a majority of the People of Massachusetts was in favor of the doctrine and policy of the Ordinance of 1787, and determined to demand the recognition of this doctrine in its application to all United States territory, without stopping short at that now impossible compromising measure, a mere restoration of the Missouri Compromise: that it felt the Fugitive Slave Act to be a crime and a disgrace, and would tolerate nothing short of its repeal: in a word, that it was resolved to put an end to the aggressions of Slavery, and, by enthroning in the National Councils the Free Sentiment of the country, take care that henceforth the Federal Government should be placed on the side of Human Liberty. And we did think that some interest was felt in Massachusetts in the struggle now pending in Kansas, between Slavery and Freedom, especially as many of her own sons were personally involved in that struggle.

But, if Mr. Gardner, just elected by eighty thousand of the voters of Massachusetts, including all of the Free Soil party but six thousand, be a true exponent of the Public Sentiment, we must confess that we have been utterly mistaken. Read the extract we have made from his message, and tell us whether the man who penned that can have any conception of the great Question which more than any other has agitated this country for the last twenty years, and in the solution of which all its vital interests are intimately involved? Something there is about the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, but not a word of the antecedent aggressions of Slavery, or its plans of future aggrandizement. Something there is about *Habeas Corpus* and the Jury Trial; but not a word that can wound the sensibilities or arouse the distrust of the "Pro-Slavery wing" of the new party. In relation to Catholics and Foreigners, he is explicit, extreme, full, abounding; but when he touches Slavery, how cold, costive, vague, non-committal! We tell Anti-Slavery men of Massachusetts, there is not one word in that whole passage relating to Slavery, which will prevent the slaveholding wing of this new party from fraternizing with Old Massachusetts on her new platform.

DO NOT BE DECEIVED.

We often hear the remark, that the old parties are broken up; and by many this is set down to the credit of Know Nothingism. This one grand effect, at least, it has accomplished, it is said.

Let us not be deceived. Had the Fusion movement, commenced on Anti-Slavery principles, been suffered to proceed in the North and West, without the intervention of Whiggery in some States, and the vitiating alliance of Know Nothingism in others, it is quite probable that it would have totally disorganized the Whig Party, and paralyzed the so-called Democratic Party. But, it was interfered with in both ways, and, to the extent of that interference, it failed to effect a general breaking up. The self-styled Democratic Party was defeated, but not paralyzed. It cast a powerful, although reduced vote, and its leaders do not dream of abandoning its organization. It has held its State Convention in Ohio, adopted its platform, nominated its candidates; and what it has done there, it will do in other States. The disappearance of the Whig Party, and the organization of a People's Party on Anti-Slavery principles, would have made the resurrection of a pro-slavery Democracy impossible; but Know Nothingism, by dividing the opponents of Slavery, gives it hope. By boldly assailing the new Order, it calculates to rally to its banner nine-tenths of the naturalized voters of the country.

The Whigs can hardly be expected to reappear as a National Party, but, in a few States, they evince a stubborn devotion to their old name and organization, which must prevent fusion or even cordial co-operation with persons of different views.

Meantime, the new, invisible Party is industriously perfecting its arrangements, for a National demonstration. It is no longer denied that its bond of agreement, as a National organization, *is the ignoring of the Slavery Question*—in other words, the adoption of the Principle of Non-Intervention, as set forth in the Baltimore platform.

In its issue of Jan. 3d, the *American Organ* admits this in so many words, and makes a merit of it in replying to some criticisms of the Washington *Sentinel*.

"But," says the *Sentinel*, "the '*avoidance*' of the *Organ* is not satisfactory—not full; in other words, we do not give the *Sentinel* the proofs, the evidence, the *authority*, for our declaration, that the Northern members of our Order are not disunionists, and that they have *resolved to sink the question of Slavery forever.*

"A 'point of order' may he raised here, which the *Sentinel* will not easily get over.

"Has the *Sentinel* any 'authority' to call for the *proofs*, &c., for our *authority* in the premises? We think not. *Those who unite with us will be satisfied of the truth of all we have stated, on the question of sinking the Question of Slavery.* Those who do not unite with us, but who, on the contrary, abuse our party and our platform of principles, *may in vain seek a disclosure of what they have no right to know.* But we will put our contemporary in the way of procuring some *outside* information, which will at least convince his mind, if it does not change his course, for the poet says:

'Convince a man against his will,
He's of the same opinion still.'

We fear it will be thus with our contemporary.

"We refer the *Sentinel*, on this point, to the statement made and repeated by the New York *Tribune*, that the Grand Council of Know Nothings of the United States, recently held at Cincinnati, had resolved to '*sink the Question of Slavery*,' *and put an end to discussion on this subject! The statement of the Tribune on this point has never yet been denied by any man or any press, so far as we know, and we shall not deny it.* We have no reason to doubt the truth of the statement."

No; it has never been denied by any Press, nor will it ever be denied by any, having the slightest authority to speak for the Order. How could Slaveholders and Non-Slaveholders, Propagandists and Anti-Propagandists, Fugitive Slave advocates and denouncers, Fillmore and Gardner, unite in one organization, upon any other principle? It amounts to this: that the Order, repudiating all of the old parties that is worth anything, has adopted from them the two things which have made them most obnoxious to the honest voters of the country—the secresy of their corrupt Caucus system, which it has introduced into every ramification of its organization and operations, and the policy of *Acquiescence* and *Non-Intervention* in relation to Slavery, which has made these parties the servile instruments of the Slave Power.

At the next Presidential election, we shall have the so-called Democratic Party and the Know Nothing Party, both occupying the Baltimore Platform on the subject of Slavery, but arrayed against each other on the issues raised between Catholics and Protestants, native and naturalized citizens; both concurring in assent to all the laws and usages which make the colored race a degraded caste, and its oppressors, the rulers of the country; but differing in this, that while the Know Nothings will seek in addition to degrade and disable two other classes, Catholics and foreign-born citizens, their competitors will resist this policy.

In such a struggle, where will be the opponents of Slavery, the advocates of Human Rights, without respect to color, birth, or religion? "They will take no part or lot with either." Who says that? The Anti-Slavery man whose manhood is bound by the fetters of a Secret and Tyrannical Order? Who says that? He who advises Anti-Slavery men to join the Order for the sake of controlling its policy, and, while keeping himself nominally free from its obligations, avows his friendship for it? We may hope, but with trembling.

Mr. Giddings, writing to the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, says:

"Dr. Bailey, of the *National Era*, looks on this Know Nothing movement as far more serious than I do. I am willing to leave the Anti-Slavery Know Nothings to fight their own battles with the Pro-Slavery wing of their party, while those who adhere to the People's movement of the last autumn shall pursue the even tenor of their ways, steadily pressing their doctrines, without turning to the right or to the left."

We remember that this was the old Whig policy in 1844, when our friend and his Anti-Slavery associates, after fighting "their own battles with the Pro-Slavery wing of their party," without success, bent all their efforts to elect Henry Clay. We remember that this, till lately, was the policy of the *New York Tribune*, and its school of Anti-Slavery Whigs, who thought they ought to be left "to fight their own battles with the Pro-Slavery wing of their party." We remember that this has been the favorite policy of our friends of the *New York Evening Post* and their associates, who have deemed it the better course to remain steadfast in their organization, and "fight their own battles with the Pro-Slavery wing of their party." We remember how the "Pro-Slavery wing" has always triumphed—how it has dictated the Presidential candidates and Baltimore Platforms—how it has carried the Compromise and Fugitive Acts, and then, resolutions of acquiescence, and resolutions against Slavery agitation in National Conventions. We remember how Anti-Slavery Whigs and Democrats have invariably succumbed, so as to be found at last fighting shoulder to shoulder with their Pro-Slavery associates, for Pro-Slavery candidates, while affecting "to spit upon" the platforms to which those candidates were pledged.

Against this policy, barren of good results, as every chapter in our political history proves it, the Anti-Slavery voters of the country, committed to independent action against the Slave Interest, have borne their testimony, by word and act, since the year 1840. Their organization from that time has been founded upon a principle directly opposed to it. They have maintained that there can be no true National party, which does not stand upon the principle that Slavery, within the exclusive limits and scope of the Federal Jurisdiction and Power, if it exist at all, exists in violation of the Constitution, and should be prohibited; and that nothing but the adoption of this principle can exclude Pro-Slavery men from a party, and therefore preclude all temptation to compromise.

Now, is the temporizing policy of the Anti-Slavery men of the old Parties, against which we have so long protested, and which it was hoped a few months since had been abandoned forever by honest voters, to be revived by this secret order of Know Nothings, with the advice and approbation of Mr. Giddings? "I am willing," he says, "to leave the Anti-Slavery Know Nothings to fight their own battles with the pro-slavery wing of their party." Let us say in all seriousness to our friend, we are not. We are no more willing to see Anti-Slavery men marshalling themselves with this new Party, that ignores the Slavery Question, than with the old Parties, who occupy the same ground. They will stand no better chance with the pro-slavery wing of this Party, than the Anti-Slavery Whigs and Democrats stand with the pro-slavery wings of their parties. If the counsel of Mr. Giddings is to be followed, how many will he get to pursue with him "the even tenor of their ways?"

Are we dreaming? Have we indeed to go back again, and begin where we began in 1840? To go over the whole argument again, so often urged against this miserable policy, which has made the North but a minister of Slavery?

Have we an Independent Democracy or not? A distinct Political Organization, openly and directly antagonistic to the Slave Party and Policy, or not? If we have, how can we counsel its members to join another, and a most exceptionable Party, pledged to evade this issue, and let the Slave Party alone? How can we refrain from pleading with Anti-Slavery men, if entangled with it, to come out, and be separate? If we have no such organization, it is time to form one, which will scorn to tamper with any movement that comes between it and the only great Political Evil that threatens deadly injury to the well-being of the Union.

MEETING OF THE REGENTS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

It is with deepest regret we announce that the Regents of this Institution, in their *secret session* held on Friday last, in this city, have decided against a Library, in the teeth of the act of Congress creating them Regents, and appropriating "a sum not exceeding twenty-five thousand dollars *annually*, for the formation of a Library."

The Hon. Rufus Choate, who has devoted weeks and months to this subject, and who, from the very creation of the Institution, has advocated the formation of a Library, came from Boston, and on Friday last delivered a speech in its favor, which is described by one of the Regents, (the request of reporters to be present was refused,) "as the most admirable and eloquent argument he had ever listened to." No reply to it was attempted. The jury was packed, and, like the Scotch member of Parliament, they could all say, "Though the speech has changed my opinion, it had no power to change my vote." The three Regents appointed from the House of Representatives, (Messrs. Meacham, English, and Stuart,) Mr. Douglas, of the Senate, our Mayor, Mr. Towers, voted with Mr. Choate; but the majority (eight to six) voted to nullify the will of Congress, and to change the purposes of the act of August, 1846. Professor Henry, whose education has been developed in one direction, and whose motto is, "Aut Cæsar, aut nullus," has been maintained in his plan of making this Institution a great publishing house of "Contributions to Physical Science." This gentleman, never having had the advantage of a symmetrical development, is like the handle of a jug, all on one side. The editor of the *Recorder* says of him, "he has the same aversion to books which John Randolph had for sheep, and never fails to kick at them when they come in his way." It would seem his aversion for men of liberal education is quite equal to his hatred of learned books, for he has appointed in place of Prof. Jewett, the scholar, who was selected as Librarian by the suffrage of our learned men, an Englishman and a Frenchman, who, though they may be good scribes, are neither scholars nor learned men.

And as to learning, there is but one graduate now connected with this Institution; we refer the distinguished naturalist, Prof. Baird. As for Prof. Blodget, he was not only dismissed, but, on venturing into the room to take from it his private papers, was forcibly ejected. Indeed, the Secretary is a very autocrat among his superiors in learning, and has now fairly won for himself "the bad eminence" of the Modern Omar. The Ancient Omar only distinguished himself by destroying a great Library already formed in the Serapeum at Alexandria, in the seventh century, while the present Omar, in the middle of the nineteenth century, has defeated the creation of a noble Library in the Smithsonian Institution in the city of Washington.

This matter comes home to the business and bosoms of all scholars in every section of our land. And we hope still to see the Smithsonian Institution the treasure-house of the learning of all ages—a Gallery of the Fine Arts, the repository of Cabinets of Natural History—in a word, in all respects to our country what the British Museum now is to the scholars, artists, and men of science, in England.

What is the Smithsonian Institution to be? It is the avowed purpose of Prof. Henry to disburse the fund, principally, by publishing "Contributions to Science." It is then to be a great publishing house. And what is Prof. Henry to be? The Autocrat of Science in the United States, who will confer or deny scientific reputation, (so far, at least, as the publication of works by this Institution can confer reputation, or the refusal to do so can take it away,) to the men of science in these United States! In the Academy of France, and in the Royal Society of England, papers presented are discussed in open session, and printed, or not, by a vote of the members; but not so here. Prof. Henry, it is true, sends such papers as he pleases to such persons as he pleases, for their examination. Of their capacity and integrity he is sole judge; the author is only told his paper is rejected. Now, if Prof. Henry had the various talents of M. Arago, such unlimited power might perhaps be conceded to him; but will our men of science submit to the Autocrat and his Secret Council? Never! We earnestly entreat Mr. Choate to print his speech. It is due to the great interests at stake, that a speech of such eloquence should be known to the country. Congress exists! Prof. Henry, and the notabilities who compose his clique in Washington, cannot control the action of Congress; *and though the secret conclave of our new College of Cardinals* have denied to the reporters of the press the privilege of laying before the people their transactions, and this grand speech, yet they cannot put out the light. The press will speak, and this coterie, who have combined to defeat the acts of Congress, may find themselves defeated.

"Oh! envious Gods! thy wonted light restore;
Give us but light! and Ajax asks no more."

Such was the cry of the noble warrior on the plains of Troy; and we adopt it, and address it to *the Council of Eight*, who now are in the ascendant at the Smithsonian Institution.

CAUSES OF THE PRESENT HARD TIMES.

We extract from the following from a recent report on the condition of the Sub-Treasury, by William M. Gouge, Esq., one of the most experienced financiers and political economists in the country.

"The present troubles in the money market are owing chiefly to the following causes:

"1. The rapid extension, under a fresh supply of gold, of a paper money banking system, which rests on principles radically unsound, especially in sanctioning the issue of notes of small denominations.

"2. The wars in the East, that have caused capital to flow from Europe to Asia, instead of taking its usual course from Europe to America.

"3. The attempts to make in a few years numerous and extensive lines of railroads, which would, in reason, require many years to complete them.

"4. Extensive speculations in wild lands; caused by reducing the price of the public land, and by other measures, which have thrown into the market in a few years as much land as will supply the demand for cultivation for many years.

"If there has been any excess of imports, that excess has been caused wholly and solely by excess of bank issues. It is only a link in the chain of effects, like extravagance in living, and all the other evils which are the consequences of paper currency inflations.

"Not one of these causes singly, but the whole four combined, have produced the high rate of interest. To suppose that any mode of managing its fiscal concerns which the United States Government might adopt, could counteract such causes, is a folly of which no rational man will be guilty. Nothing but the constant influx of gold from California has prevented general bankruptcy; and if the regular supply from that quarter should be interrupted for only a few months, it would, so tensely has credit been strained, be followed by the most disastrous results."

Of course, speculators on the "hard times" shape their opinions according to the school of political economy to which they belong. The Protectionist ascribes the pressure generally to the want of a Protective Tariff, and consequent excess of imports over exports, which, he says, drains the country of its specie.

With all deference to Mr. Gouge, we think he has overlooked, in his exposition, one or two important considerations. Had the People of the United States lived within their means, and not drawn so largely upon their resources in advance, the war in the East, although compelling capital to flow in that direction, and reducing investments in the United States, might have stopped or retarded many public improvements in our country, and produced a temporary stringency in the money market, but the masses of the People would not have suffered. This change of capital, then, from its usual course, can hardly be called a cause of the hard times, at least not one of the most prominent causes.

After all, the great cause of the mischief lies on the surface. Since the reaction from the last great monetary pressure, and especially since the influx of California gold, the People of the United States, stimulated by almost unexampled prosperity, have been *living too fast*; speculating, enterprising, and indulging in luxuries, beyond their means.

This is why so much capital has been locked up in unproductive lines of railroad, in wild lands, and Mr. Gouge might have added, real estate, generally; and who can tell the millions that have been expended in magnificent houses, gorgeous furniture, silks, jewels, carriages, and every other article of luxury? Using up our means of to-day, we have run into debt, trusting to the result of some lucky investment, to bring us out safely. The railroad speculator has made outlays on the basis of ample dividends to be received on the completion of the work. The land speculator, supposing that prices would continue to advance, has drawn upon his credit for investments, hoping to meet his notes by the sale of a portion of his lots, at advanced rates. The fool of fortune, ambitious to make himself famous in some way, has built a palace, looking to the continuing profits of his traffic, to enable him to meet in future the heavy obligations incurred in the undertaking. In a word, nearly all classes have been drawing upon the future for the expenditures of the present, without dreaming that the future would have its own burdens, without providing a single safeguard against reverses. And the madness of the hour has been inflamed by the temptations to easy credit afforded by our miserable banking system, which has contributed still further to fictitious values by its issues of paper money. It is easy enough to see that such a period must have an end—the day of reckoning must come—and this, in the United States, has doubtless been hastened by the war in the East, checking the flow of capital to this country, and by the extraordinary drought and short crops of the last season. Mr. Greeley, of the *Tribune*, in an article giving the results of his observations on the West, during a recent tour in that region, says of Ohio—

"The drought and the weevil were very hard upon her farmers this season. The wheat crop of the State was not ten bushels per acre—less than half an average yield—mainly by reason of the weevil's desolating ravages. In the western half of the State, where most wheat is sown, the crop was almost entirely cut off. Potatoes also failed in a good part of the State, and Indian corn, the great staple, especially of the rich valleys of the Miami and the Scioto, is but about half a crop. I believe the crops of Ohio, for 1854, are worth forty millions of dollars less than full average crops would have been."

In another place, he estimates the country's loss by the harvest failure, "through a great portion of the United States, and especially in the great grain-growing regions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, at one hundred millions of dollars."

Now, let us take Ohio, for an example. The farmer suddenly found himself with just enough grain to live on, but no surplus of anything to sell. How was he to get money? He had to meet notes for new land he had bought the year before, relying upon the proceeds of this year, to meet them. He had commenced improvements, which must stop without money. The railroad in which he had invested, is not yet completed, and of course pays nothing. What can he do? Borrow? Hundreds of others, in a similar predicament, may have been beforehand with him, and the banks begin to be careful, to restrict their accommodations, to call in their issues. *He must retrench*—but, who can calculate all the consequences involved in that process? He contrives to have his notes continued, but the man of whom he has purchased, is driven, perhaps by this very thing, to the necessity of retrenchment too. He suspends his improvements, and several "hands" lose employment. He wears his old coat, instead of buying a new one—puts off getting a new hat, manages with patched shoes, contracts all the expenses of the household—stops his paper. Of course, business grows dull with the shop-keeping craft and the mechanics; for this hard-pressed farmer is but one of hundreds of thousands, all of whom are pursuing the same policy of retrenchment. The merchant reduces the number of his salesmen; his orders on the large houses are withdrawn; he is probably unable to meet his obligations. The shoemaker and tailor turn off some of their journeymen, and have occasion for less of the raw material. The publisher, who has been printing books, in expectation of his usual orders, finds them on his shelves, and wishes he had that investment back again in the shape of money. The editor, who has purchased a lot or two, supposing that his renewing list would enable him to pay his notes, receives by every mail, the ominous words, "stop my paper," and forthwith he begins to retrench. Bookbinders, folders, printers, are turned out of employment—all crafts and classes suffer, more or less, from the wealthiest to the poorest. Each man is the centre of a circle, and failure or retrenchment on his part, brings disasters to all within it. That bankruptcy should now become common, and working men lose employment, bankers and capitalists become panic stricken, and monetary pressure everywhere prevail, is exactly what might be expected.

This, it seems to us, is the philosophy of "hard times," and it is easy to see that the cause lies in the follies of human nature. Were every man, in all his undertakings, to remember that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," that the demands of the Present should be met by the means of the Present, that the Future will have its own burdens, so that it is unwise to draw thoughtlessly upon its resources for the burdens of the Present—in a word, that the only safe maxim is to live within one's means—there would be no hard times, unless occasioned by causes beyond human control. As to the notion that a Protective Tariff, building up by hot-bed process domestic manufactures, is the true remedy for "hard times," it is a mere fiction. No matter where we buy our goods, let us live within our means, and we are safe. If we indulge in extravagance, and venture upon outlays beyond our means, no matter who are our creditors, or where they live, the time for reckoning must come, and that time will be a "hard" one.

THE SOUTHERN VIEW.

The editor of the Jackson (Miss.) *Central Democrat* reasons himself into the belief that Slavery will ultimately be introduced into California. The Legislature, he says, passed a law, soon after the organization of the State, allowing twelve months for the conveyance out of the State of slaves carried there before the adoption of the Constitution; and, no arrangements having been made for taking them out, in that time, the law was extended at the last session. Of course, he says, Slavery has existed in the new State, permanently, ever since it was settled. And now, he says, there is a great change in the Public Sentiment. Men of capital, who are springing up there, know how profitably the labor of slaves can be used in mining.

"They know how rapidly fortunes can be accumulated by the possession of slaves as a portion of their capital, and the immense advantage they will possess over those who employ white laborers, in consequence of the exorbitant price of the latter, and from these considerations will seek the possession of the whole *machinery*, as well as the area, for working the precious metals. There is no doubt but capitalists in California are now taking this view of the matter, and, by a combination of capital power, the object is easy of accomplishment. It is a known fact that a strong and healthy negro man can earn from fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars per annum, by working in the mines; and will not this fact, within itself, be a sufficient cause for negroes to be sent there, if only for one or two years? Negroes are now being sent daily from Virginia, North and South Carolina, and in a great many instances even from Alabama and Mississippi, where Slavery is much more profitable than in the former mentioned States. A negro population is bound to concentrate there, and the combined efforts of the Abolitionists cannot prevent it."

We call the attention of the People to the positive statement of this writer, that "negroes are now being sent daily from Virginia, North and South Carolina, and in a great many instances even from Alabama and Mississippi," to California.

Thus, while the Slavery Extensionists are carrying on their operations everywhere, the good People of the North are meditating how most effectually to discourage Immigration, thereby reducing their political power, already so divided as to be no match for Slavery.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In the Legislature of Massachusetts, on Saturday, the result of the recent election in that State was declared. The vote for State officers was as follows:

For Governor, Henry J. Gardner received 81,506 votes; Emory Washburn, 27,279; Henry W. Bishop, 13,742; Henry Wilson, 6,843; Charles Allen, 477; Bradford L. Wales, 407; scattering, 358.

For Lieut. Governor, Simon Brown received 81,921 votes; Wm. C. Plunkett, 27,151; Caleb Stetson, 13,769; Increase Sumner, 6,878; Geo. F. Osborn, 393; scattering 178.

At noon, of yesterday, Mr. Gardner, the new Governor, was inaugurated, with the customary formalities, in the presence of the Legislature. His address on the occasion is thus described by our telegraphic correspondent:

"The principal topics of the Governor's message are the foreign population, the duties of Americans towards them, and the dangers apprehended from them. He notices the great increase of immigration, and the beggary and crime incident thereto. He urges that wise statesmanship should interfere, within the limits of the Constitution, to direct, ameliorate, and control, these elements; and contends that the dominant race must regulate the incoming class. Next he recommends that all schools aided by the State shall use the same language; the disbanding of all military companies founded on and developing exclusively foreign sympathies; the retaining of the Bible in the schools, and opposition to every measure tending to a union of Church and State. He is particularly severe on imported demagogues, agrarians, red republicans, and others, and opposes the easy way to naturalization. He holds that foreigners ought to enjoy all the blessings of the country, but that the nation should continue to administer the laws according to its own judgment. He recommends an amendment of the Constitution of the State, so that the alien elective franchise be restricted to twenty-one years after naturalization, and not be extended then, unless the alien can read and write the English language. In regard to the present depressed condition of the country, he says that our remedy is not so much in legislative enactment and tariffs, as in cultivating a feeling of patriotic nationality, and a united determination to encourage the skill and industry of the American laborer, by consuming home products, of the shop, factory, and field, in preference to imported fabrics and foreign productions."

ILLINOIS.

The message of Governor Matteson to the Legislature of Illinois exhibits in a flattering light the prosperity of that State. It has now completed and in successful operation 1,837 miles of railroad, and calculates in two years from date to have 847 more. Financial embarrassments seem not to have operated as a serious check upon internal improvements. Some new projects may be delayed, but the most important will be hurried through. All roads on which trains can run, even for the shortest distance, have been crowded and paying well. Only one hundred and seventeen miles of the Illinois Central remain to be done; five hundred and eighty-seven are completed. The company have already spent seventeen millions on the work.

The Governor strongly recommends the urging of the matter of Western improvements upon the General Government. He advises the entire reorganization of the Common School system, so as to diffuse education and elevate its standard, and also an essential modification of the general banking law of Illinois.

The financial condition of the State appears to be very prosperous. The debt of the State on the 1st of January, 1855, is stated at $13,993,614.93.

The New Anti-Slavery Party.—We learn from the *Boston Telegraph* of Friday, 13th, that John S. Rogers has been expelled from the Know Nothing Council, in Boston, for having voted against Mayor Smith, of Antony Burns memory; and that he was expelled on motion of a son of John Pierpont!!! This is the way the "Pro-Slavery wing of the party" fights its battle. How does "the Anti-Slavery wing" carry on its warfare? Mr. Rogers says:

"The friends of Freedom can hope for no good to come out of this organization. The faint glimmerings of freedom which seemed to promise hope in some localities, are to be crushed out. Already has this process been applied in the municipal election of Boston, and the Free-Soilers are openly told to expect no more favors from the City Councils."

American Almanac for 1855.—The American Almanac for 1855, printed by Phillips, Sampson, & Co., Boston, has just been received in advance, by Wm. M. Morrison & Co., Booksellers, Washington, Pennsylvania avenue, No. 440. We are indebted to their politeness for a copy. It is a publication that cannot be dispensed with.

Una.—We call attention to the Prospectus of the admirable periodical, the *Una*, edited by Mrs. Davis, a lady amply endowed with intellectual gifts, and qualified to be a teacher on the subject of Woman's Rights and Duties.

☞ We desire to call particular attention to an advertisement, which will be found in our columns to day, headed "What Next?"

General News.

Municipal Election.

Cincinnati, Jan. 8.—The entire Know Nothing ticket was elected at the municipal election at Covington, Ky., on Saturday, by a large majority.

The Ohio River.

Wheeling, Jan. 8.—The river continues in good navigable order here and at Pittsburgh.

Illinois Politics.

Chicago, Jan. 8.—The Anti-Know Nothing resolution introduced into the House of Representatives of this State, was tabled by a vote of 38 to 36.

Iowa Senator.

A telegraphic despatch announces that the Hon. James Harlan, Fusionist, has been elected a Senator in Congress by the Legislature of Iowa, for six years from the 4th of March next, when the term of the Hon. A. C. Dodge will expire.

Qualification of Voters.

Albany, N. Y., Jan. 9.—The Hon. Mr. Rhodes, member of the Legislature from Kings county, laid on the table a proposition to amend the Constitution of the State, altering the qualifications of voters, by declaring that to be entitled to vote, all males at the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been born citizens of the United States, or who shall have been residents of the United States for the full term of twenty-one years, shall be so entitled.

Illness of Senator Norris.

Washington, Jan. 9.—Senator Norris, of New Hampshire, was in a critical situation from an attack of the disease of the heart last night. He is easier to-day.

Nine o'clock, P. M.—Senator Norris is better this evening, and strong hopes are entertained of his recovery. His disease is a neuralgic affection of the heart.

The Eighth of January at New Orleans.

New Orleans, Jan. 9.—Yesterday—the anniversary of Gen. Jackson's great victory over the British forces—was most appropriately observed here. The military paraded during the day, and made a grand and imposing appearance, and various balls and private parties at night closed the festivities of the day.

Western Navigation—Hog Statistics.

Cincinnati, Jan. 9.—The river is now eight feet in depth, and the water is falling.

The receipts of hogs to this date amount to 311,000 head, against 362,000 received up to the same date last year. The market is dull for hogs at $3.75 @ $4.50. Mess pork sells at $11. Eastern exchange, 1 per cent. premium.

Ohio Democratic Convention.

Cincinnati, Jan. 8.—The Democratic Convention for the nomination of State officers met at Columbus to-day. A motion was made to defer the nominations until next summer, but was lost by a large majority, and the Convention then proceeded to make nominations. The result was, that Gov. Medill and all the present State officers received the nominations by a very large majority of the votes.

The Convention then passed a resolution, denouncing Slavery, Know Nothingism, and Mr. Adams's amendment of the naturalization laws—endorsing the Baltimore platform, &c. The meeting passed off in a calm and orderly manner.

Trouble in Erie Again.

Philadelphia, Jan. 9.—In the Supreme Court this morning, in consequence of the receipt of a despatch from Erie announcing a renewal of the troubles there, Messrs. Campbell, Hirst, and Meredith, applied for a writ of assistance, directing that the sheriff of Philadelphia be commanded to proceed at once to the scene of disorder, with such force as may be necessary to enforce the several decrees of the Supreme Court.

In reference to the application, the court, after consultation, said they had not agreed as to the form of the verdict, but would decide the matter to-morrow morning.

One Week Later from California.

The steamer North Star arrived at New York yesterday, with 200 passengers, and $1,119,623 in gold dust, from California.

The news from California is almost devoid of interest. The miners were still anxiously awaiting rain. The Russian ship Kamschatka, previously referred to as having arrived at San Francisco, turns out to be a privateer. She has ten guns, and a crew of one hundred and twenty men.

The judge of the tenth district of California has been indicted by the grand jury of Juba county, for an assault with deadly weapons upon the person of C. R. Stidger.

Tobacco of very superior quality has been raised in some portions of the State.

A bridge eight hundred and five feet long, across Trinity river, in Grass Valley, has been completed.

Dates from the Sandwich Islands to the 25th of November had been received at San Francisco, but there was nothing new in regard to the annexation treaty.

Senatorial Struggle in Missouri.

Louisville, Jan. 8.—The Missouri Legislature, on the 4th, had seven ballots for a United States Senator. The last stood—Doniphan 54, Denton 40, Atchison 56, Wilson 1; Doniphan voting for Wilson. The vote was strictly a party vote.

The Southern Mail Difficulty.

Charleston, Jan. 8.—The difficulty in regard to the Southern mail will soon be definitely arranged. The terms have been agreed upon, but the schedule is not yet fixed.

The Railroad War at Erie.

Philadelphia, Jan. 10.—In the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, this morning, a writ of assistance was granted, and ex-police marshal Keyser was ordered to proceed to Erie, with such force as he may choose to summon here or at Erie, and enforce the decree of the court. He will start this afternoon.

The Southern Convention.

New Orleans, Jan. 8.—The Convention of Delegates from the South and Southwestern States assembled here on Monday. Gen. Lamar, of Texas, was chosen President. Ten States are represented, and one hundred and twenty delegates present, including *eighty-three* from Louisiana.

A resolution was offered, calling on Congress for the improvement of Galveston bar and harbor, and the establishment of a marine hospital there.

A committee on business and other matters was appointed yesterday, which not being prepared to report to-day, there was no business of importance transacted.

Message of the Governor of Maine.

Boston, Jan. 8—Governor Morrill, in his message to the Maine Legislature, makes no allusion to Know Nothing movements. In regard to the Liquor Law, he strongly recommends its stringent enforcement. Considerable space is devoted to the Slavery question, in which he says it is evident that the time has arrived when the question must be met and discussed in our National and State councils, and in primary meetings of the people, with the same freedom with which other grave questions are wont to be considered.

Gov. Morrill condemns the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and on its presumed extension of Slavery says: "What renders this aggressive movement the more alarming, is the evident complicity of the Chief Magistrate of the country, in open disregard and direct violation of a voluntary assurance given to the people, who had elevated him to that high position, that no movement of that character should shock the repose of the country during his official term, if in his power to avert it."

From St. Thomas—An American Steamer Fired Into.

New York, Jan. 8.—The ship Golden Eagle, from St. Thomas, reports that a few days before she arrived there, the American steamer Benjamin Franklin, chartered by the Royal Mail Company to take the English mails and passengers to other islands, was fired into by the authorities of the island, when leaving port. One ball passed through a state-room in which were sitting an English lady and child. The steamer in consequence had to return to port, and was detained a day in making repairs. The reason given was, that she had no right to pass.

The U. S. ship of war Falmouth put into St. Thomas on the 26th, leaking badly. She had encountered heavy gales on the coast, and was badly strained.

Qualification of Voters in Massachusetts.

Boston, Jan. 8.—In the House of Representatives of this State, to-day, a motion was made to amend the Constitution of the State, so as to provide that no person shall have the exercise of the elective franchise who is unable to read and write the English language.

Injunction against a Bank.

Philadelphia, Jan. 8.—The injunction asked for in the Supreme Court of this State, against the Commercial Bank of this city, was granted this morning, restraining the directors from discounting notes except at the regular meetings of the board, or for more than legal interest.

Democratic Nomination.

Boston, Jan. 8.—The Democrats of the third district in New Hampshire have nominated William Wheeler, Esq., as their candidate for Congress.

Illinois.

The House of Representatives of Illinois agreed on the 12th, by a vote of 38 to 30, to go into the election of a United States Senator on the 15th, (this day.) The Senate has not acted. In the organization of the latter body, the Opposition had a majority of two over the Nebraska Democrats.

Missouri.

The Legislature of Missouri again met on the 9th instant, in joint session, to elect a United States Senator. The seventeenth ballot gave Mr. Doniphan (Whig) 58 votes, Mr. Atchison 56, Mr. Benton 39, and Mr. Wilson (Whig) 1.

Know Nothing Convention.

Schenectady, Jan. 10.—A "Know Nothing" Convention assembled here to-day, and about 125 delegates were present, from various parts of the State, mainly from the central portion of it.

Illness of the American Minister at Paris.

New York, Jan. 12.—The *Evening Post* learns, by a private letter from Paris, that Hon. J. Y. Mason, our minister to France, was struck with paralysis on the morning of the 27th of December, and was quite unwell when the letter closed.

Election of State Treasurer.

Augusta, Me., Jan. 11.—The Legislature to-day elected Woodbury Davis, Free-Soiler, of Belfast, State Treasurer.

Senatorial Election in Illinois.

Chicago, Jan. 12.—The House voted to go into an election for United States Senator on the 15th, by a vote of 38 to 30.

Foreign Military Companies Disbanded.

Boston, Jan. 13.—In compliance with the recommendation of Governor Gardner, in his message to the Legislature, all the military companies, composed of foreigners, have been disbanded.

Know Nothing Defeats.

Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 9.—Mayor Volz, the citizens' candidate, was re-elected in this city today, by a majority of one hundred and seventy-three, over Morgan, the Know Nothing candidate.

In Alleghany city, also, Adams, the citizens' candidate, was re-elected Mayor over the Know Nothing candidate.

Know Nothing Victory.

We are informed that at an election yesterday, at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, the "Know Nothing" candidate for "Commissioner of the Revenue" for that county, beat his anti-Know Nothing opponent more than four votes to one.—*American Organ.*

Massachusetts Senatorial Election.

Boston, Jan. 12.—The members of the House held a caucus this afternoon, and nominated Henry Wilson, of Natick, for United States Senator, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Hon. Edward Everett. It is thought the Senate will nominate and adhere to Alfred B. Ely—and hence, a speedy election is not sure. The House ballot on Tuesday.

Indiana.

The State Senate organized by the following officers:

Solon Turman, Secretary; Charles N. Shook, Assistant Secretary; Charles G. Warner, Doorkeeper; all Democrats.

The House elected the Republican nominees, with great unanimity: General David Kilgore, Speaker; John Levering, Clerk; John Coburn, Assistant Clerk; Butler Hubbard, Doorkeeper; S. Church, Assistant Doorkeeper.

Death of Senator Norris.

Washington Jan. 12.—For two days the physicians considered that Senator Norris was improving, and yesterday he was thought to be much better, but soon after ten o'clock last night he was seized with severe spasms, and after a few minutes of great suffering expired. His disease was "*angina pectoris*" which is hereditary in the family.

New Jersey Legislature.

Trenton N. J., Jan. 9.—The Legislature of this State met to-day, and the Senate organized by electing Col. Wm. C. Alexander, Democrat, President, and A. R. Throckmorton, Democrat, Secretary, over John Rogers, Whig, of Burlington. Mr. Thomas, of Cumberland, Native American, was elected Sergeant-at-Arms over Furman, Know Nothing, of Burlington, by a vote of 12 to 8. The usual resolutions, &c., were passed, when the Senate adjourned.

The Kinney Expedition.

Washington Jan. 11.—The *Union*, of this morning, announces that the first vessel, with the Central American colonists, will sail from Baltimore on the 25th inst.; the second a few days later, from Mobile; and the third, from Brazos Santiago. Seven hundred men go out in these vessels. Col. Kinney will sail about the beginning of next month, either from New York or Philadelphia, in a first class steamship.

Illinois.

On the 3d inst. the Senate met at Springfield. The Anti-Nebraska candidates, with two exceptions, were elected by a vote of 13 to 11. The House had previously organized by the election of an Anti-Nebraska Speaker and Clerk. Waters, (Whig,) just elected from McDonough, has appeared and taken his seat in the House. This gives 39 Anti-Nebraska votes reliable on *all* questions—41 on most.

Foreign Affairs.

REVOLUTIONS OF SPAIN—NO. 4.

[CONCLUDED.]

LONDON, *November* 18, 1854.

Mr. Canning received the seals of the British Foreign Office on the 16th September, 1822, and at once announced to the world that he would resist the designs and doctrines of the Holy Alliance. He recognised the two following principles of the British Constitution as fundamental: 1st. That the people are the origin of power. 2d. That the object of all Governments ought to be the welfare of the people. The truth of the first of these principles was openly denied by the Holy Alliance; and their conduct at least implied their doubts of the correctness of the second. Here, then, is a clearly-defined antagonism, and the fate of Europe depended on the solution of the rival principles which that antagonism involved. Napoleon had said, "thirty years after my death, Europe will either be Cossack or Republican;" and already, within one year after his death, the seeds of the grave problem began to germinate.

Events at Verona were maturing; but as the English protest against any military attack on Spain had somewhat chilled the courage of the allies, the French minister delivered in a document, on which he asked for their decision. It contained the three following propositions, or rather questions:

1st. In case France should find herself under the necessity of recalling her minister from Madrid, and of breaking off diplomatic relations with Spain, would the high Courts be disposed to adopt like measures, and to recall their respective missions?

2d. Should war break out between France and Spain, under what form, and by what acts, would the high Powers afford to France that moral support which would give to her measures the weight and authority of the Alliance, and inspire a salutary dread into the revolutionists of all countries?

3d. What, in short, was the intention of the high Powers, as to the extent and the form of the effective assistance which they would be disposed to give to France, in case active interference should, on her demand, become necessary?

The Emperor of Russia eagerly offered his sword to the French negotiator, offering to march an army of 150,000 men through Germany, and encamp them in Piedmont. He, in common with France, wanted occupation for his troops, for he knew that there were conspirators among them, aiming not only at the subversion of the throne, but at his life; and the military revolution which broke out at his death proved the correctness of his knowledge. Alexander, therefore, had every personal motive to destroy liberal institutions in Spain, which were contagious. But a delicate point was now raised by the English envoy, who suggested to the French minister, that by calling in the Russians he would offend his own army, as the inference would be that it was incapable of fighting the Spaniards single-handed. This hint had its proper effect, and the offer of Russia was declined with diplomatic gratitude. Austria, though eager to put down liberty in Spain, dreaded lest France might aggrandize itself; and Prussia shared those fears. It was finally agreed to adopt a middle course proposed by Austria, to this effect: "that the allies should hold towards Spain a common language, in separate notes, but uniform in their principles and their objects." Such, so far as Spain was concerned, was the substance of the celebrated Congress of Verona.

The Powers now proceeded to address themselves separately to Spain. On the 4th of January, 1823, the French ambassador at Madrid delivered in a copy of his instructions. In allusion to the policy agreed upon at Verona, he observed that France "was intimately united with her allies in the firm resolution of repelling revolutionary principles and movements; that she equally concurred in the wishes entertained by them, that a remedy should be found for the noble Spanish nation itself, for evils calculated to disturb other Governments, and impose upon them painful precautions." On the 10th, the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian envoys handed in the declaration of their respective monarchs. That of Count Nesselrode is the most important, as it is the most dictatorial, and it shows how determined Russia was to take a leading part in international policy. It contains the following passages: "Anarchy appeared in the train of revolution—disorder in that of anarchy. Long years of tranquil possession ceased to be a sufficient title to property; the most sacred rights were disputed; loans and contributions were unceasingly renewed, destructive of public wealth and ruinous to private fortunes. Religion was despoiled of her patrimony; and the throne, of popular respect. The royal dignity was outraged, the supreme authority having passed to assemblies influenced by the blind passions of the multitude. To complete these calamities, blood was seen to flow in the palace, while civil war raged throughout the Peninsula. During nearly three years, the allied Powers continued to flatter themselves that the Spanish character, so constant and so generous whenever the safety of the country was in question, lately so heroic when struggling against a revolutionary Power, would at length show itself, even in the men who had the misfortune to betray the noble recollections which Spain might proudly recall to every nation in Europe. They flattered themselves that the Government of his Catholic Majesty, undeceived by the first lessons of experience, would adopt measures, if not to stop the calamities bursting upon them from all quarters, at least to lay the foundations of a remedial system, by gradually securing to the throne its legitimate rights and necessary prerogatives, as well as by affording to the people adequate protection, and to property indispensable guarantees. These hopes have been utterly disappointed. Time has only brought with it fresh injustice. Violence and the number of victims have increased. On the other hand, in imitation of the revolutions of Naples and Piedmont, which the Spanish conspirators call their own work, we hear them announce that their subversive plans have no limits. In a neighboring country, (meaning France,) they strove to excite tumults and rebellion; in more distant ones, they labored to secure accomplices; the activity of their proselytism was everywhere felt, and everywhere produced some disasters."

Surely, language more insolent was never addressed to an independent nation. The Spanish liberals were justly indignant at the arrogant tone of the Russian document, and the more so because they knew it was mentally endorsed by all the three members of the Holy Alliance; and had not the British ambassador at the Court of Madrid interposed, the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian diplomatists would at once have received their passports. A common circular was forwarded to the Spanish agents accredited to the Courts of the three Northern Powers, which stated "that it would be unworthy of the Spanish nation to answer the notes of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, because they were only a tissue of falsehoods and calumnies, and that the Spanish Government would never deviate from the line traced by its unalterable attachment to the Constitution of 1812." The ministers of the three Powers almost immediately demanded their passports. The one forwarded to the Russian envoy was enclosed in a letter from the Spanish minister, couched in these words: "I have received the very insolent note which your Excellency forwarded to me, and confining myself, as my sole reply, to stating that you have shamefully abused, perhaps through ignorance, the law of nations, I transmit the passports required, hoping that your Excellency will quit the capital with as little delay as possible."

At this crisis, unanimity did not prevail among the French ministers, or at least they expressed themselves in different terms to the Duke of Wellington, who was the British negotiator, instructed by Mr. Canning. M. de Villele was pacific; M. de Montmorency was the undisguised advocate of war. The former insisted on viewing the affairs of Spain as "wholly French;" the latter, as "wholly European." Louis XVIII and the majority of the Cabinet sided with M. de Villele; and accordingly a dispatch was forwarded to M. de la Garde, the French minister at Madrid, which, though certainly couched in hostile language, was more conciliatory than menacing; for though it instructed the minister to demand his passports unless certain conditions were complied with, or certain suggestions acted upon, it contained an assurance "that the succors of every kind which France could dispose of in favor of Spain would always be afforded to her for the purpose of assuring her happiness and increasing her prosperity." What France really desired was the absolutism of Ferdinand, because liberalism in Spain might be transported over to Pyrenees, and alight in Paris.

The question, therefore, was treated as "wholly French," as M. de Villele desired, and M. de Montmorency resigned. But the war party was strong. Chateaubriand succeeded Montmorency, and owed his promotion to the dextrous *finesse* of having held a somewhat contradictory creed, which asserted cumulatively that the Spanish policy was "both wholly European and wholly French." Chateaubriand had peace on his lips, and war in his heart. He had been one of the negotiators at Verona, and was the eulogist of the Russian Emperor, who, unless the parties are much belied, settled a pension of 25,000 francs on Chateaubriand, as the author of the "Genius of Christianity;" but, unfortunately, this was not *before*, but *after*, the Congress of Verona. On the 21st of January, 1823, Mr. Canning addressed to him a celebrated despatch, as a last effort to avert war. It is a splendid document, from which the following passages are extracted: "I understand a war of conquest; I understand a war of succession, a war for the change or conservation of a peculiar dynasty; but a war for the modification of a political constitution, a war for the two Chambers, and for the extension of the regal prerogative—a war for such objects as those I really do not understand, nor do I conceive how the operations of it are to be directed to such an end. You would not propogate La Charte as Mahomed did the Alkoran, or as, in the earliest part of your revolution, France did the Rights of Man. Consider, is there not some forbearance on the part of Spain in not throwing these things in your teeth? Might she not, when informed that her change of constitution had not been bloodless, desire that it should be compared with 1789 and 1792–'3? Might she not, when accused by Russia of a forcible change of Government, remind the Emperor Alexander of the events which preceded his own accession, and the treaty of Tilsit, which made over Spain to Bonaparte? Might she not speak to Prussia of promises of free institutions made by a King, and violated? Might she not accept Prince Metternich's appeal to the former union of Spain and Austria, and turning to us, (if we took part in the lecture,) say that she was ready, like England in 1688, to preserve her laws and liberties by a small change in the reigning dynasty, and to place an Austrian prince with enlarged powers upon the throne? Surely the discussions with which the war has been prefaced are as hazardous as the war itself? Consider before what an audience you plead. How many of their passions are against you! how few of their sympathies are with you! And do you make war to free such a monarch from all restraint? And do you hope to have mankind with you?"

In another communication, which reached Paris the day before the meeting of the Chambers, Mr. Canning pressed the difficulty of the position on Chateaubriand with irresistible force: "Let him ask himself, as we in England have asked ourselves, if there existed in the frame of the Government of France, or even of England, respectively, all those imperfections which either theoretical criticism or factious clamor imputes to them, we should consent, even if we were already resolved to probe and to reform those imperfections, to do so on the demand of a foreign Power, made under the menace of a foreign war, as the penalty of refusal."

These eloquent and argumentative remonstrances were of no avail. War was decided by the infatuated Bourbons. But we must here pause, as our customary space is full. J. D.

AUSTRIA AND THE ALLIES—THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH SOLDIERY.

While it cannot be fairly denied that Austria, by the attitude which she had assumed, greatly contributed to deliver Wallachia and Moldavia from the presence of the Russian troops, it is also undeniable, that by her subsequent vacillating and procrastinating course, she has conferred the greatest benefits upon the Czar, and, on the contrary, caused much injury to the Western Powers, and even increased the difficulty of her own task, should she now have resolved to take an active part against Russia.

It is very evident, if Austria had, two months since, declared war against the Czar, and sent a powerful force to co-operate with the Turkish army under the command of Omer Pasha, in attacking the Russian troops in Bessarabia, that the Emperor Nicholas could not, without exposing himself to the almost certain loss of that province, have thence sent the numerous reinforcements to the Crimea, which have enabled Prince Menschikoff to baffle, as yet, the vigorous efforts of the allied forces at reducing Sebastopol—an enterprise which, if successful, must necessarily put an end to the Russian supremacy in the Black Sea. There can be but very little doubt that, but for the timely arrival of the corps of Generals Liprandi and Dannenberg at Sebastopol, that Russian stronghold would already, some weeks ago, have fallen into the hands of the soldiers of France and England, who in the ever-memorable battles at the Alma, at Balaklava, and at Inkermann, have in so glorious a manner proved how greatly they surpass, in skill and valor, even the brave warriors of Russia.

Much praise is indeed due to the Emperor of Russia, for the prompt and energetic measures which he is employing, in order to avert the great calamity that threatens his empire. His plan is evidently to attempt, by the dint of numerical superiority, to compel the troops of the Allies to raise the siege of Sebastopol, and retire from the Crimea. But the Governments of France and England, sensible of their blamable negligence, in not forwarding in due time sufficient reinforcements to General Canrobert and Lord Raglan, are now bending all their energies to repair their error. Thus there is much reason for presuming that the Taurian peninsula will still, for several months, continue to be the bloody theatre of the terrific struggle between Russian devotion and patriotism on the one side, and French dexterity and English energy on the other.

I cannot forbear mentioning, that the remark has been made, in several impartial journals, that the English have, on some occasions during the campaign in the Crimea, exhibited rather foolhardy daring, than thorough familiarity with the rules of modern warfare; while, on the part of the French, the most impetuous valor has constantly been made subservient to the most consummate knowledge of military art; and hence the several checks which the former have met with, while the latter have always proved irresistible. Indeed, the English have several times acted as if influenced by a nervous anxiety for displaying their courage in the most conspicuous manner, without due regard to the maxims of the great art of war. Even some of the English journals have used expressions showing their disapprobation of the generalship exhibited by some of the highest British officers engaged in the Crimea expedition.

It has also been remarked, by a very competent and impartial judge, that the French soldiers constitute a far superior class of men, being not only impetuously brave, but also sober, courteous, intelligent, sensible to the dictates of honor, and exceedingly fond of glory; while almost the only good qualities of the English consist in courage and steadiness; being, as a body, intemperate, rude, ignorant, dishonest, and rather indifferent to fame. This remarkable contrast is, however, easily accounted for. The English soldiers are sprung from the dregs and refuse of the English people, and have no hope of rising above the rank of an ensign, or at least above that of a captain, while subject to the degrading punishment of flogging. The common men of the French army, on the contrary, are raised from respectable classes, possess generally the rudiments of education, are never degraded by corporeal punishment, and have the prospect of rising to the highest military dignities of France. No wonder, then, that their moral qualities are far superior to those of their English brethren. An eye-witness has not hesitated to say that the English soldiers are not fit companions for those of France. Such is the deplorable effect of the English system of raising and treating soldiers, and of the aristocratic spirit that prevails within the British establishment of war. It is to be hoped that the English officers, by the experience which they have now so excellent an opportunity of acquiring of the superior moral qualities of the French soldiers, as compared with those of the common men of the British army, will be prompted to recommend to the Parliament of Great Britain the necessity of adopting a new and better system for raising, treating, and promoting soldiers.

These remarks remind me of the low moral standing of the common men, in the regular army of the United States, and of the imperious duty of Congress to take prompt measures for improving their morality, and rendering them ambitious rather of imitating the chivalric virtues of the French soldiers. Let Congress adopt a system similar to any of those which prevail in France, Sweden, and Prussia, and which have had the effect of elevating the soldiery of those countries to a great degree of moral excellence. It is a shame—not longer to be tolerated—that the ranks of the regular army of democratic America are formed by men whom we must rank in the same class with the degraded soldiers of aristocratic England and despotic Russia. DIOGENES.

Berlin, December 9, 1854.

While it is easy to see that our Berlin contributor has strong continental prejudices, it is quite probable that there is much truth in what he says of the effect of aristocratic usages on the common soldiery of England.—*Ed. Era.*

SPEECH OF NAPOLEON TO THE FRENCH CHAMBERS.

The speech of Napoleon to the French Chambers, which we subjoin, was received with great enthusiasm, and has excited much admiration in Europe:

"*Gentlemen Senators and Deputies:*

"Since our last meeting, great events have happened. The appeal which I made to the country to cover the expenses of the war, was so well responded to, that the result even surpassed our hopes. Our arms have been victorious in the Baltic and in the Black Sea. Two great battles have shed lustre upon our flag. A striking testimony has proved the intimacy of our relations with England. The British Parliament has voted thanks to our Generals and soldiers. A great Empire, reinvigorated by the chivalrous spirit of its Sovereign, has separated itself from the Power which, for forty years, has menaced the independence of Europe. The Emperor of Austria has concluded a treaty, defensive at present, soon perhaps offensive, which unites his cause to that of France and England. Thus, gentlemen, the longer the war continues, the more numerous becomes the number of our Allies, and the closer are drawn the bonds already formed. What firmer bonds can there in fact be, than those bearing the names of victories belonging to the two armies, and recalling a common glory, than the same anxieties and the same hopes agitating the two countries, than the same views and the same intentions animating the two Governments in every corner of the globe?

"Thus the alliance with England is not the result of a passing interest and of a policy of circumstance; it is the union of two powerful nations, associated together for the triumph of a cause in which, for more than a century, their greatness, the interest of civilization, and at the same time the liberty of Europe, have been engaged.

"Unite, then, with me in this solemn occasion, to thank here, in the name of France, the British Parliament for its cordial and warm demonstration, and the English army and its worthy commander for their valiant co-operation.

"Next year, if peace should not have been re-established, I hope that I shall have to render similar thanks to Germany, the union and prosperity of which we desire.

"I am happy to pay a just tribute of praise to the army and to the fleet, which, by their devotion and discipline, have worthily responded to my expectations, in France as in Algeria, in the north as in the south. Up to the present moment, the army of the East has had to suffer, and has overcome everything—disease, fire, tempest, and privations. A citadel incessantly re-provisioned, defended by a formidable artillery by land and sea. Two hostile armies, superior in numbers—nothing could weaken its courage, or impede its impetuosity. Every man has nobly done his duty, from the Marshal, (who bid death wait till victory had crowned him,) down to the privates and sailors, whose last cry in expiring was a prayer for France—an exclamation for the elect of the country. Let us, then, declare together, that the army and the fleet have well deserved of their country. War, it is true, entails cruel sacrifices; yet everything commands me to push it with vigor; and, with that object in view, I count upon your assistance.

"The land army consists, at present, of 581,000 soldiers, and 113,000 horses; the navy of 62,000 sailors on board ship.

"It is indispensable to keep up this effective force. To fill up the vacancies caused by annual liberations and war, I shall request from you, as I did last year, a levy of 140,000 men, and a bill to ameliorate (without increasing the expenses of the treasury) the condition of the soldiers who will re-engage. It will afford immense advantages, by increasing the number of old soldiers in the army, and by diminishing the oppression of conscription. This bill will, I hope, soon have your approbation.

"I shall ask your authority to conclude a new national loan. Doubtless, such a measure will increase the national debt, but let it not be forgotten that, by my conversion of the rent, the interest of that debt has been reduced twenty-one millions and a half. My efforts have been directed to place the expenses on a footing with the receipts; and the ordinary budget will be presented to you balanced. The resources of the loan alone will suffice for the expenses of the war.

"You will see with pleasure that our revenues have not diminished. Commercial activity is maintained, all the great works of public utility are continued, and Providence has deigned to grant us a harvest which will satisfy all our wants.

"Government, nevertheless, does not shut its eyes to the distress occasioned by the high price of provisions, and has taken every measure in its power to provide against this distress, and to relieve it. New sources of labor have been created in many districts.

"The struggle which is going on, circumscribed by moderation and justice, while it makes the heart beat, nevertheless alarms so little that shortly an assembly will be held here from all parts of the globe, with the products of peace. Strangers will be struck by the remarkable spectacle of a country which, counting on Divine Providence, maintains with energy a war at six hundred leagues from its frontiers, and which, at the same time, with equal zeal, develops its internal riches—a country which does not prevent agriculture and industry from prospering, the arts from flourishing, and where the genius of the nation reveals itself in everything which tends to the glory of France."

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—SECOND SESSION.

Tuesday, January 9, 1855.

SENATE.

On motion of Mr. Cass, the officers and soldiers of the war of 1812, who are now holding a convention in this city, were, by resolution of the Senate, invited to seats on the floor of the Senate, without the bar, during the sitting of their convention.

Mr. Shields, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported, with amendments, a bill to reorganize the army.

Mr. Douglas introduced a bill to authorize the construction of a northern, a southern, and a central railroad and magnetic telegraph to the Pacific ocean, for the purpose of having it referred. It was read twice, and referred to the special committee on that subject.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill to reorganize the judicial system of the United States, the pending question being on Mr. Geyer's motion to strike out the first section, which was understood to be a test of the views of the Senate on a vital principle of the bill.

Debate ensued, in which Messrs. Bell, Mason, Butler, Toucey, Fessenden, Rusk, Geyer, Badger, and Chase, participated.

Without taking the question, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On motion of Mr. Houston, the House took up the military academy and the invalid pension bills, as returned from the Senate with amendments, and referred them to the Committee of Ways and Means.

Mr. McDougall offered a resolution proposing that the debate on the Pacific railroad bill shall cease on Tuesday, the 16th instant.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Dawson called for the regular order of business, being the bill amendatory of the act of 1854, to reduce and graduate the prices of the public lands to actual settlers and cultivators.

Mr. Dawson said that the bill, commonly known as the Homestead bill, was sent to the Senate, and that body, avoiding a direct vote on its provisions, adopted, in lieu of it, the substitute of Mr. Hunter. To this substitute there are many grave objections; and it was his purpose in offering his amendment to seek to re-establish, with a few alterations, the principles of the Homestead bill which passed this House by so large a majority. He proposed, by it, to charge fourteen and a half cents an acre for the land, which would obviate any constitutional objection, and cover the original cost of purchase, and extinguish the Indian title.

The Senate's amendment would inure to the benefit of States, railroads, speculators, and capitalists, to the detriment of the actual settlers.

The greatest political evil now, was the effort to get possession of the surplus in the Treasury. In his opinion, the true policy is, a rich people and a poor Treasury. At no time has this (the Homestead) measure occupied a stronger position before the country than at this time.

He answered several objections which have been urged against the proposition, showing that it would not be adverse to the interests of the old States, and that there are no constitutional difficulties in the way of its passage. He denied the assertion, so repeatedly made, that none but vagrants and loafers would take advantage of a Homestead bill; and, in the course of his remarks, earnestly urged the passage of the measure, saying that it would, more than any other, add strength to the State, increase the prosperity of the people, and secure the equality of the social condition.

The Speaker, in response to a question asked by Mr. Smith, of Virginia, said that the bill pending was amendatory to the act passed last session, to graduate the price of the public lands. It was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, which had reported a substitute for it. The amendment of Mr. Dawson was the Homestead bill, with a few modifications; among them, charging fourteen and a half cents an acre for the land.

Mr. Etheridge caused an amendment, which he desired to offer, to be read, to the effect that the provisions of the bill shall only apply to native-born persons, or such as have been naturalized, and to no other person or persons whomsoever.

Mr. Campbell moved that the bill and the pending amendments be laid on the table.

The question having been taken, the motion was disagreed to—yeas 65, nays 98.

The previous question, moved by Mr. Dawson, was not sustained—ayes 44, noes not counted.

The House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Orr in the chair,) and proceeded to the consideration of the Pacific railroad bill.

Mr. Latham addressed the Committee on the subject of establishing a line of mail steamships between San Francisco and Shanghai, touching at the Sandwich Islands. The colonization and settlement of California, by our own race, he said, would have the same influence on Asia as the discovery and settlement of this country had on Europe.

Mr. Chandler obtained the floor.

He gave way for a motion that the Committee rise, which prevailed.

Mr. McDougall, from the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, reported the Senate bill to establish a line of mail steamers between San Francisco and Shanghai, touching at the Sandwich Islands and Japan.

The bill was ordered to be printed, and recommitted to that committee.

On motion, the House adjourned.

Wednesday, January 10, 1855.

SENATE.

Petitions were presented in unusual numbers, of which Mr. Pratt presented one, numerously signed, representing the evils to which the mercantile marine had been subjected by the abolition of flogging.

After numerous reports had been made, and some bills of a private character passed, on the recommendations of standing committees, Mr. Cass formally submitted Mr. Underwood's resolutions in relation to the enjoyment of religious liberty abroad; and, on his motion, they were made the special order for the first Monday in February.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill to reform the judiciary system of the United States. The pending question was on the amendment offered by Mr. Chase, to reduce the number of judges on the bench of the Supreme Court.

Without coming to a conclusion on the subject, the Senate, after an Executive session, adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Speaker announced the first business in order to be the motion of Mr. Orr to commit to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union the bill amendatory of the act to reduce and graduate the public lands to settlers and cultivators, (to which several amendments were pending, including that of Mr. Dawson, in the nature of a homestead principle—the lands to be sold to actual settlers at fourteen and a half cents an acre.)

Mr. Campbell said he was opposed to engrafting the Homestead bill on the proposition now pending. He did not like this way of tacking on to the graduation bill this measure, and then driving it through the House under the operation of the previous question. Let gentlemen wait until the Homestead bill which passed this House, and was amended in the Senate at the instance of Mr. Hunter, shall be taken up.

Mr. Orr withdrew his motion, as the friends of the bill desired a direct vote on it. The sooner it was disposed of, the better. He was prepared to vote now, though he was opposed to the passage of the bill.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, indicated an amendment; to repeal the graduation bill of last year, as frauds were perpetrated under it.

Mr. Campbell renewed the motion to refer the bill and pending amendments to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The question was taken, and the motion disagreed to—yeas 82, nays 89.

The House then refused to recommit the bill and pending amendments to the Committee on Public Lands—yeas 85, nays 89.

The House then proceeded to act on the pending amendments. First, that of Mr. Dawson, (accepted by Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, as a modification of one offered by the last-named gentleman,) granting a homestead on one hundred and sixty acres to every head of a family, at the rate of fourteen and a half cents an acre, on the condition of five years' settlement and occupation.

Mr. Cobb referred to the 5th section of the bill, which provides that any individual now a resident of any one of the States or Territories, and not a citizen of the United States, but who, at the time of the passage of this act, shall have filed a declaration of intention, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and shall become a citizen of the same before the issuing of the patent, as made and provided for in the bill, shall be placed upon an equal footing with the native-born citizen of the United States. He desired this to be stricken out, as the section was of questionable propriety. If it did not exclude foreigners hereafter coming into the country, he would vote against the amendment.

Mr. Dawson replied, saying, if there was doubt on the subject, he would agree to strike out the fifth section.

Mr. Cobb. Then strike it out.

Mr. Dawson replied, he had not control of the amendment, as it was offered by the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Jones.]

Mr. Etheridge wanted to exclude the immense emigration into the country. The bill would give the benefits proposed to foreigners who may hereafter arrive in the United States, to which he was adverse.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, said that naturalized foreigners should have all the rights guarantied to citizens under the Constitution. If the object was to exclude foreigners, repeal your naturalization laws, to prevent them from becoming citizens.

The question was taken on agreeing to the Homestead amendment, and decided in the negative—yeas 72, nays 93.

The substitute reported by the Committee on Public Lands, to the bill amendatory of the act of August 14, 1854, to graduate and reduce the price of public lands to actual settlers and cultivators, was agreed to—yeas 84, nays 39.

The bill was rejected—yeas 68, nays 95.

Mr. Dawson moved that the House proceed to the business on the Speaker's table, with a view of reaching the Homestead bill, as returned from the Senate with amendments.

Mr. Hamilton moved that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. Smith, of Tennessee, moved to reconsider the vote last taken, and to lay that motion on the table.

Pending which motion, at three o'clock, the House adjourned.

Thursday, January 11, 1855.

SENATE.

The Senate, after passing several private bills, proceeded to the consideration of the bill to increase the compensation of Senators, members of the House of Representatives, and Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, which was reported from the Committee of the Whole without amendment.

Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, moved to strike out so much of it as relates to the increase of the compensation of members of Congress.

Mr. Gillette likewise opposed the bill. He thought that to increase the pay of members would be to increase the distempers of the Republic. He believed the laborer was worthy of his reward, if he earned it, but he also believed that the people do not now receive an equivalent for what they pay. There certainly was found no difficulty in supplying the places here at the present prices.

Mr. Badger replied, affirming that he had abandoned a profitable practice to serve his country, and, though not an extravagant man, he had been obliged to add $3,000 a year to his compensation, to defray his expenses.

Mr. Clayton said that his pay was about equal to that of one of the pages of the Senate, and about half of that which was received by the messengers of the Senate; but by voting for this bill, he should vote to put money into his own pocket, which he could not do.

Mr. Toucey maintained that it was a bad general policy to pay inadequately the public servants.

The consideration of the bill to reorganize the judicial system of the United States was then resumed.

Mr. Chase's amendment, to reduce the number of Judges, was rejected; and Mr. Geyer's motion, to strike out the first section of the bill, was rejected also.

The substitute presented by Mr. Douglas was then considered, for the purpose of perfecting it, before a vote was taken on that, as a proposition in lieu of the original bill. It was read by sections, and then postponed till Monday next, for final action.

The bill to extend the provisions of the bounty land laws was then taken up, the pending question being on amendments to extend it so as to include those who have rendered services when not in the employment of the General Government; on which a conversation ensued, that resulted in some modifications of phraseology, so as to accomplish the object contemplated.

After debate, and without concluding the question,

The Senate went into an Executive session, and afterwards adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Giddings, of Nebraska, introduced a bill establishing post routes in Nebraska, a bill to protect the proprietors of towns in Nebraska in town sites, and a bill providing for the survey and settlement of the half-breed tracts of land in that Territory; which were severally referred to the appropriate committees.

The House took up the bill to remodel the diplomatic and consular system of the United States.

Mr. Perkins said the bill proposes to change the title of chargé d'affaires, or ministers resident, to that of ministers plenipotentiary, so that they may be equal in rank, and have direct access to the Governments to which they may be accredited.

The bill, he said, likewise abolishes outfits. In this connection, he said, a minister may receive his $9,000 outfit, and spend it before he leaves the country. This, with the annual salary of $9,000, and the infit of $2,500, making $20,500 for a single year's service. Appointments are too often conferred as a reward for partisan services, and the design of the bill was to prevent this abuse.

Another reform. Ministers are not to be paid for services which they do not render, and are prevented from being absent more than ten days from the field of their service. Under this bill, they will receive no roving commission, to enable them to spend the summer in Russia and the winter in Italy. Should this reform be made, we will hear no more of disquiet produced by the assembling of our ministers abroad, as recently at Ostend.

The bill provides for a secretary to each legation, whose duty it shall be to take care of the archives and perform clerk's service, and to act in the absence of the ministers. The salaries to be small, so that the offices may not be an object with politicians.

Mr. Orr inquired as to the comparative expense between the old and the new system.

Mr. Perkins replied, $75,314, saving this amount by curtailment of abuses, such as outfits, &c. He said, with reference to the consuls, that none but Americans are to be appointed. He deferred further remarks on this branch of the subject until to-morrow.

The House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Orr in the chair,) and took up the Pacific railroad bill.

Mr. Chandler, in rising, said his purpose was to reply to the remarks of the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Banks,] who recently addressed the Committee on the prevailing topics of the day. The gentleman made inculpatory observations with regard to the Roman Catholic church, involving, in that inculpation, a charge of latent treason against its members; or, at least, an imputation of an article of religious faith which overrides all fealty to the Government, and renders them unworthy of public trust, suspected citizens, and dangerous officers.

After quoting from the speech of Mr. Banks, he denied that the Bishop of Rome has, or claims for himself, the right to interfere with the political relations of any country, other than that of which he is himself a subject. He denied the right of the Bishop of Rome, resulting from his divine office, to interfere between subjects and sovereigns, and between sovereigns and Governments; and, while he made this denial, he acknowledged all the duties which he owes to the church of which he is an humble member.

He would not yield a single dogma to suit the spirit of the times. He believed all that the church believes and teaches as religious dogmas. Regarding himself as involved in the general censure of the gentleman from Massachusetts, he clearly and distinctly denied that the power of the Pope extends one grain beyond his spiritual relations, or infringes, in the least degree, on the duties which any Roman Catholic owes to the Government under which he lives.

If the Bishop of Rome should possess himself of an army, and invade the territory of the United States, or assail the rights of our country, he would find no more earnest antagonism than in him, (Mr. C.) If he were not here to vote supplies to our army, and if too old to take part in our battles, he would be found in the privacy of his chamber, or at the foot of the altar, imploring God for the safety of his country, and to defeat the invaders. [Applause.]

Mr. Orr reminded the gentlemen that applause was not becoming in a deliberative body.

Mr. Chandler resumed, saying that, if the spirit of conquest should seize on the wearer of the tiara, and he should seek to subjugate Italy, he (Mr. C.) would look on the chances of the defeat of his army as coolly and complacently as on the schemes of any other ambitious monarch.

This was not only his belief, but was fully held and openly asserted by every bishop of the church, proof of which he produced.

In conclusion, Mr. Chandler said, if the object of the secret organization (Know Nothings) means anything, it aims to exclude all Roman Catholics from office—from an exercise of the rights of citizenship. Deny this, establish such an inequality, and it would not be long before they will demand the boon which freemen seek. With his hand on his heart, and his eye toward Heaven, he appealed, with reverence to God, to witness the truth of the assertions which he had made, with a conviction of knowledge and the credibility of the testimony which he adduced from others; and it now only remained for him to thank the House for the great forbearance with which they had listened to him.

Mr. Cox examined the oft-repeated charge that the great Whig party is dissolved, denying the truth of the assertion, and showing that the majority of the country is in opposition to the Administration, and that the Democratic party is therefore in the minority. He reviewed, in condemnation, the executive and legislative acts of the party in power.

In relation to the Know Nothings, he said he could not submit to the doctrine of proscribing freemen who choose to act politically in their own way. If they only intend to vote for Protestants, instead of Roman Catholics, there is nothing to prevent them; for the two great political parties have always advocated the election of their own friends, respectively. If they do intend to exclude Roman Catholics, it is because they conceive the latter entertain a political and religious faith incompatible with republican sentiment. This may be wrong, and the Protestants in error. If so, the only thing for the Roman Catholics to do, is to convince them of the untruthfulness of the charge. He did not understand that the Know Nothings intend to deprive foreigners of a single right which they now possess. The privilege they now enjoy is a mere question of generosity. The Know Nothings have a right to extend the term of naturalization.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, obtained the floor, but gave way for a motion that the Committee rise, which prevailed.

And the House adjourned.

Friday, January 12, 1855.

The death of Senator Norris was announced in both Houses. Appropriate speeches were made by Messrs. Toucey and Cass in the Senate, and by Messrs. Morrison and Bayly in the House. The usual resolutions were passed, and both Houses adjourned.

Monday, January 15, 1855.

SENATE.

After receiving and disposing of reports of committees, petitions, &c.—

Mr. Hunter moved to take up the annual mail steamer appropriation bill of the last session, which had failed then between the two Houses of Congress.

This motion was opposed by Messrs. Badger and Bayard, and advocated by Messrs. Gwin, Butler, and Hunter; when it was agreed to.

The said bill was being read at length, for information, as we went to press.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Speaker laid before the House some Executive communications, which were appropriately referred.

Mr. Letcher, rising to a question of privilege, proposed to ask for the special committee of investigation on the Colt patent case, the power to compel witnesses to answer their questions. Mr. L. had a portion of the journal of that committee read, wherein it seems that a witness named William B. Chace had stated that he possessed information going to prove that votes had been obtained for the Nebraska bill, on the condition that a contract for building one of the new steamships should be given to George Steers, of New York city, and on a subsequent occasion had refused to make the disclosures he had promised originally to make.

That portion of the said journal having been read, Mr. Walsh remarked that Steers had got no such contract as this witness had spoken of, and that the appointment to superintend the construction of one of these steamers at $2,400 per annum, which had been conferred on Steers, was so conferred because he had been the designer of the celebrated yacht America, and of some of the best of the Collins line of steamers, and was therefore the most competent person for the position.

Mr. W. conceived this case to be a strong illustration of the want of character of many of those who hang about the halls of Congress, pretending to be connected with the press, who were not competent to write for the newspapers, and lived by black-mailing persons having business with Congress. He denounced Wm. B. Chace, the person involved in this affair, as being a strong illustration of the class to which he referred; going into detailed statements concerning that individual's personal character.

A debate then arose upon the power of Congress to grant the power for which Mr. Letcher proposed to ask, in which Messrs. Letcher and Bayly, of Virginia, participated; in the course of which, the Speaker laid before the House a letter from the said Chace, offering to name to the Committee the person whose name he had refused to disclose.

The subject was not disposed of when we went to press.

A WEEK LATER FROM EUROPE.

The American steamer Baltic arrived at New York on the 11th inst., bringing Liverpool dates to the 30th ultimo. We subjoin the Telegraphic report of her news:

The British Parliament had adjourned. The Royal assent has been given to the foreign enlistment bill. This measure continues unpopular, and it is said that an article in the German Confederation expressly forbids German subjects from entering the military service of foreign nations.

The price of cotton had declined ⅛d. Flour and corn are unchanged. Consols closed at 91½ to 91⅝. There had been considerable activity in American securities, especially in Virginia stock.

Napoleon made a great speech before the Legislative Council, the tone of which was very warlike. He spoke of no prospect of peace. The Council immediately voted for the war alone 500,000,000 francs.

All the foreign troops had been withdrawn from Tuscany. A quarrel had sprung up between the King of Naples and the Jesuits, upon the question of the superiority of the Pope over the kings of the earth.

A high diplomatic conference is to be held at the residence of the British Minister at Vienna on the 8th. The ambassadors of England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, (through Prince Gortschakoff,) are to take part in the discussion. This conference is to be of a positive character.

A Vienna dispatch of the 26th says that Gortschakoff had presented a note, received from St. Petersburgh, to Count Buol. This note is believed to be unsatisfactory, but not the final reply of the Czar.

On the 17th December, Omer Pasha left Shumla for Constantinople. His proposed future movements are not known. The Turkish troops from Varna began to arrive in the Crimea on the 18th. A letter in the *Soldaten Freund* says: "The defences of Sebastopol are now being conducted on a new plan. Costly materials are to be removed from the bastions on the walls, and carried back to the ships. Twenty-two ships have been equipped, and are now ready for sea." The *Fremolin Blatt* says, further, that the defence of Sebastopol will be confined to their forts.

Affairs before Sebastopol were unchanged on the 20th of December. The Russians claimed to have done considerable damage to the approaches of the Allies; nevertheless, the French had mounted their cannon on the third parallel. The reinforcements of the Allies on the 18th amounted to 18,000 men. Prince Menschikoff was sick, and Gen. Ostensacken was in command. Five thousand Turks had landed at Eupatoria. The destination of Omer Pacha's army was kept profoundly secret, but it was thought he would invest the north side of Sebastopol.

Orders had been received from Warsaw to complete additional works around the citadel within the first fortnight of January, and Paskiewitch had been ordered to proceed in the immediate enrolment of three parks of flying artillery. Recruits of the new levy are to create a second grand army of reserve, to be concentrated in and around Moscow. Twenty thousand men were occupied in fortifying Kiel.

A Russian ukase has been published, ordaining that whoever after battle shall commit any act of cruelty on the wounded or unresisting, shall suffer the penalty of death.

It is surmised that the Allies will make an attack on Kimburn, preparatory to the attack of Perekop.

A levy of ten men in every thousand has been ordered to be made in the eastern half of the Russian Empire, to be completed by the 15th of March.

THE LATEST, BY TELEGRAPH.

Constantinople, Dec. 20.—It has been confidently asserted that a resolution has been adopted to storm Sebastopol as soon as the Turkish reinforcements come up. The French, it is said, are to lead the storm, while the British and Turks attack Menschikoff. It is reported that Omer Pasha has written to the Sultan, making it a condition of his accepting the command, that he shall have two votes in the councils of war, in order to prevent his being out-voted by Raglan and Canrobert.

Vienna, Dec. 20.—A despatch from Warsaw has been received, which announces that the Russian naval artillery taken from the Baltic fleets had arrived in the Black Sea, and been placed in the forts of Sebastopol; and that to their presence is due the precision of the recent fire from Sebastopol, as well as the new-found boldness of the Russian fleet.

Another despatch from Vienna states that, at a conference held there on the 28th of November, notes were exchanged between the representatives of the three Allied Powers defining the sense in which the respective Cabinets understood the four points proposed as conditions of peace. Gortschakoff is understood to demand time to obtain instructions from his Government.

☞ There were several typographical errors in our long editorial last week, but it is hardly worth while now to correct them.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, January 8, 1855.

Flour, Howard Street	$8.75	@$8.87
Flour, City Mills	8.75	@ 0.00
Rye Flour	0.00	@ 6.75
Corn Meal	4.25	@ 4.75
Wheat, white	2.08	@ 2.15
Wheat, red	2.05	@ 2.08
Corn, white	92	@ 93
Corn, yellow	93	@ 95
Rye, Pennsylvania	1.33	@ 0.00
Rye, Virginia	1.20	@ 1.25
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	50	@ 53
Oats, Pennsylvania	00	@ 55
Clover Seed	7.00	@ 7.25
Timothy Seed	3.35	@ 3.50
Hay, Timothy	18.00	@21.00
Hay, Clover	12.00	@13.00
Hops	36	@ 38
Potatoes, Mercer	1.25	@ 1.50
Bacon, Shoulders	6¼	@ 6⅞
Bacon, Sides	6¾	@ 7¾
Bacon, Hams	10	@ 11
Pork, Mess	13.75	@16.00
Pork, Prime	12.50	@14.00
Beef, Mess	16.00	@ 0.00
Lard, in barrels	9¾	@ 9⅞
Lard, in kegs	10	@ 10½
Wool, Unwashed	14	@ 16
Wool, Washed	20	@ 24
Wool, Pulled	19	@ 20
Wool, Fleece, common	22	@ 23
Wool, Fleece, fine	30	@ 37
Wool, Choice Merino	42	@ 43
Butter, Western, in kegs	12	@ 13
Butter, Roll	16	@ 25
Cheese	10¾	@ 11¼
Coffee, Rio	10	@ 10½
Coffee, Java	13½	@ 13¾

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, January 8, 1855.

Flour, State brands	$8.75	@$9.00
Flour, State brands, extra	9.50	@12.00
Flour, Western	9.00	@ 9.62
Flour, Southern	9.00	@ 9.62
Rye Flour	6.50	@ 7.75
Corn Meal	4.75	@ 5.00
Wheat, white	2.30	@ 2.45
Wheat, red	2.22	@ 2.25
Corn, white	1.00	@ 1.05
Corn, yellow	1.02	@ 1.04
Rye	1.38	@ 0.00
Oats	55	@ 60
Clover Seed	0.00	@ 0.00
Timothy Seed	2.75	@ 3.00
Hay	1.00	@ 1.12½
Hops	32	@ 36
Bacon, Shoulders	6¼	@ 0
Bacon, Sides	6¾	@ 7
Bacon, Hams	8	@ 8½
Pork, Mess	12.25	@14.50
Pork, Prime	14.50	@15.75
Beef	8.50	@11.00
Lard, in barrels	10	@ 10½
Lard, in kegs	10½	@ 10¾
Butter, Western	12½	@ 18¾
Butter, State	19	@ 24
Cheese	10	@ 10¾
Coffee, Rio	9¾	@ 10½
Coffee, Java	12½	@ 13½
Wool, Unwashed	9½	@ 12
Wool, Washed	0	@ 00
Wool, Pulled	26	@ 34
Wool, Fleece, common	32	@ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	35	@ 00
Iron, Scotch, Pig	28.00	@29.00
Lime, Rockland	1.10	@ 1.12½
Lime, common	85	@ 00

INTERESTING TO THOSE SUFFERING FROM HEADACHE—A CERTAIN REMEDY FOUND IN

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NEW YORK, *August* 1, 1852.

This is to certify that I have been subject at times to severe headache; sometimes the pain would be so severe I could rest neither day nor night. Hearing of Dr. McLane's Celebrated Liver Pills, I sent and got a box, of which I took two pills on going to bed, for two nights. They relieved me entirely. Some time has now elapsed, and I have had no more trouble from sick headache.

M. JOHNSTON, 118 Lewis street.

P. S. The above valuable preparation, also Dr. McLane's Celebrated Vermifuge, can now be had at all respectable Drug Stores in this city.

☞ Purchasers will please be careful to ask for, and take none but, Dr. McLane's Liver Pills. There are other Pills, purporting to be Liver Pills, now before the public. 24

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Country Gentleman, for 1855, (Weekly,) $2.
Working Farmer, (Monthly,) $1.
Horticulturist, plain, for 1855, (Barry's,) $2.
Horticulturist, colored, for 1855, (Barry's) $5.
Horticultural Magazine for 1855, (Hovey's,) $2.
American Agriculturist, (Weekly,) $2. Address
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420 No. 152 Fulton st., up stairs, New York.

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PLEADING LIKE THE VOICE OF AN APOSTLE,

With the trumpet tones of justice and righteousness, for

THE POOR, THE SUFFERING, THE ERRING.

The critics have spoken almost as

ONE VOICE, IN FAVOR OF THE NEWSBOY,

Extracts of which we have heretofore given. We now append a few more.

The Yates County *Whig* says:

"This is one of the best books of the age—the best book for the young, the best book for the middle aged, the best book for the old, the best book for all—because it arouses the best motives of the human heart. That heart must be very far gone indeed, that can repel the permeating influence of the good, truth, religion, (it matters not what name we give it,) breathed in every line of this precious volume. We read, and, as we progress, we cannot think of the writer; indeed, we strongly suspect it 'never was written,' it 'growed,' a gift from Heaven, expanding and unfolding for our uses and necessities, simply because we needed it, and as such we reverently accept the gift, our humble hearts overflowing with gratitude and praise. We rejoice that we live in the Nineteenth Century, for we have read, 'The Newsboy,' and our heart is so filled with better promptings that we cannot do less than urge all to read it."

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Declaration of Independence

are scouted on the floor of Congress, it becomes important to have reliable information as to the practical working of a system that threatens to overshadow this continent.

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Art, science, literature, philosophy, both spiritual and natural, the science of association, or the re-organization of society, and individual development, will each receive their due share of attention.

Our contributors, a few of whose names we give, will be warmly greeted by our readers:

Mrs. Dall, Mrs. E. Oakes Smith,
Mrs. E. J. Eames, Mrs. F. D. Gage,
Mrs. E. Cheney, (now in Paris,)
Mrs. Peter, and Lizzie Linn

whose story of "Marriage the only Alternative," opens with the first number of the New Year, and is quite worth the price of the paper.

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420 PAULINA W. DAVIS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Voice of the People.

ONE OF THE PROSCRIBED.
WESTERVILLE, FRANKLIN CO., OHIO, *January* 1, 1855.

Perhaps I can speak understandingly on this subject. In the providence of God, I drew my first breath in a foreign land. I am a foreigner, and the son of a foreigner; yet the life of Washington and Winterbottom's History of America were among my childish readings; and these, together with a father's instructions, fired my soul in childhood for Liberty. My father left his native land, and a lucrative situation, purely from a love of American institutions; but well do I remember his anathemas of Slavery.

Was the capital and skill he brought to his adopted country no benefit to it, or was he incapable of exercising understandingly the rights of an American citizen? What made him and his family love this country so ardently? Simply because it granted him his rights as a man, and made him feel at *home*. Should such a man be put on a probation of twenty-one years? The idea is preposterous. And his case is the case of thousands at the present day. Skill, and capital, and physical power, are flowing in every day, enriching the country in every direction, and the true principle is to citizenize and Americanize all who come among us; and the man who is not fit to exercise the rights of citizenship after five a years probation, will not be at twenty-one.

I doubt, sir, if there is a man in the United States who understands so well the principles of the American Government and Constitution as Kossuth, and yet some wiseacres would put such a man on a probation of twenty-one years. Such conduct reminds me of the declaration, "That another king arose, who knew not Joseph;" another people have arisen, who know not the principles of the Revolution; and, if demagogues could have their way, would make this nation not only one of oppression, but of persecution—indeed, the one is a fit handmaid of the other. I am a Protestant, from the bottom of my soul, and, like yourself, detest every system of tyranny, whether civil or ecclesiastical. But what is all this to do, so suddenly, about Roman Catholicism? It is a mere assumption, a raw-head and bloody-bones, to distract and divide the people from the issue of Slavery. It reminds me of the building of the Kenyon College, by Bishop Chase. I then lived some fourteen miles from it; and, can you believe it, such was the ignorance, that many actually believed he was building a British fort here, in the heart of Ohio, instead of a college to enlighten the rising generations of the West. Such ignorance might be excusable in men who could only make their mark; but how can we excuse men of high intellectual attainments, yea, even preachers and teachers of the people, for their ungrounded fear of Catholicism, in this land of light and liberty? If Protestantism cannot stand without the aid of Jesuitism, backed as it is by the Holy Ghost, free Scriptures, free Speech, and a free Press, then let it fall, it cannot be of God.

Let the Roman Catholics educate their own children, in their own schools, if they please; they have a right so to do; but education is not all obtained in schools; they cannot quench the free spirit that, as an atmosphere, surrounds their children. Mind is brought in contact with mind, and, in a generation or two, the thraldom of Priesthood is thrown off, and its power humbled in the dust. Is a portion of the Irish immigration an exception, yet what becomes of their children in the third generation? Swallowed up in the great American vortex. And shall this nation act with the folly that formerly characterized the great State of Ohio, who, amongst her two millions of white inhabitants, had a few thousand blacks, every one of whose labor she wanted, yet enacted laws persecuting them to expulsion? God forbid that we should be so devoid of common sense!

Yours, respectfully. GEO. MCWHIRK.

ANOTHER OF THE PROSCRIBED.
DAYTON, MONTGOMERY CO., OHIO, *December* 23, 1854.

While I am on this subject, I must say that I agree with you in your opinion about the Know Nothings; and although they seem to sway the whole land at present, I believe that in one year's time that party will have vanished as fast as it came into existence; and many of your subscribers, who now have discontinued your paper, will see their error, and you will have their subscriptions and their higher regard.

That I am not a native-born citizen, you will have perceived by the wording of my letter. I am a German, and although it is very natural that I should side rather against the Know Nothings, yet I have been an American citizen long enough to let not the love for the foreigners sway my judgment in regard to any dangers which the latter might bring over this country. I am no politician, speak very little politics, and yet I have considered it my duty to make myself as much acquainted with matters pertaining to the Government, as to be able to vote intelligently; and, besides, I take a particular interest in it, and therefore I have taken some notice of things.

It is said my countrymen are too ignorant to be able to vote understandingly, and that they are led too much, and are used as tools, by politicians. Although I cannot quite deny the charge, as regards a majority of my countrymen, yet at the same time I cannot see that they differ very much in this respect from a great number of native Americans. The only difference I see is this: the Germans are led by politicians of their nation, and the Americans use their countrymen for the same purpose; party, party, blinds them; what the party leaders call good, must be good, because the party says so.

A few words more, and I shall not take up any more of your time. It has been charged, that the Germans want to keep up their nationality in this country. This, however, is a great mistake, as far as my knowledge goes. That there may have been from time to time some enthusiasts among the lately-arrived Germans, who have expressed such an opinion, I will not deny; but if ever they had such an idea, a few years' residence in this country would have dispelled this illusion. Instead of this being the case with the majority of my countrymen, there is probably no people on this globe, which assimilates so easily with other nations; all history will bear me out in this fact. That a German feels an attachment for the land of his fathers, which he has left, and for his language, is rather more to his credit than anything else; and I think Americans can well afford to leave the Germans this last which is left them of their former country, as long as they live, particularly when they see that the second generation prefer the use of the English language; because, from necessity and other causes, the parents of German children are obliged to send them to work for Americans, where they do not hear any other language spoken but the English, and it becomes more familiar to them than their mother tongue. I myself prefer the language of my fathers, because I knew the beauty of it; and, in my opinion, there is none richer or more expressive; yet at the same time I try to perfect myself as much in the English language as I can, as it is the language of this country.

I have not had the pleasure to be personally acquainted with you, and I have no right to take up your time, any more than the thousands of your other subscribers, and I beg to excuse the liberty I have taken.

CHARLES POST.

THE TRUE COURSE.
PHILADELPHIA, *December* 27, 1854.

You know I am an old-fashioned Liberty man, of nearly twenty years' standing, and do not believe in oppressing Irishmen or Germans, any more than the descendants of Africans. I have no particle of sympathy with the Papacy, as you well know; but I believe they are to be won by love, and not by what looks like hatred. I would have them and all other foreigners mingle with us, and become acquainted with us, and sympathize with us and our institutions; and would deprecate any course that tends to keep them by themselves as a body, constantly exerting an antagonistic and irritating influence.

Very truly, yours, for God and humanity,
C. D. CLEVELAND.

FROM A METHODIST MINISTER.
EAST BOSTON, MASS., *Dec.* 25, 1854.

Your manly articles on the prevalent phase of nativism please me much. But I think you have been misinformed as to the extent to which the Methodist ministry are involved in this matter. In this region, I have the means to know there are comparatively few of our ministry who sympathize with or favor the present aspect of the movement. The papers have said, that of some sixty clergymen in the Legislature elect of this State, the Methodists have the preponderance. I think both these statements are untrue. There are not, probably, above twenty clergymen, in all, in the Legislature elect. Of these, there are of our denomination—in the Senate, one superannuated and one local; in the House, one superannuated and one efficient minister. I think these are all.

SOME STILL LEFT.
WESTMINSTER, MASS., *Dec.* 26, 1854.

Most of the Free-Soilers here are caught by the Know Nothings; yet some of them wish me to express to you their determination to sustain the *Era*, for its fearless and decided course in opposition to that party. They like you the better for having a back-bone that will not bend or truckle to this triumphant party, to secure a larger subscription list for the *Era*. There are but few of us Free-Soilers who have stood aloof from the Know Nothings. Having disliked Free Masonry, I have ever been resolved never to join a secret society for any purpose whatever.

AN ILLUSTRATION.
GAINES, ORLEANS CO., N. Y., *January* 3, 1855.

I think, when I sent you some names a few days ago, that we were to have a special election for member of Assembly, in the place of A. Ward, deceased. That election was held last Thursday, and resulted in the triumph of the Old Hunker Liquor Know Nothing candidate, by two to one. We cast at the late election over 5,000 in the county; on Thursday, but a trifle over 3,000; and of those, the People's candidate had less than 1,100. I never in all my life saw falsehoods so boldly and pertinaciously adhered to. Whether we shall be able to make head against them, before they can do irreparable mischief, I do not know; still, I think we shall, in this part of the country.

THE ERA IN MISSOURI.
ST. LOUIS, MO., *Dec.* 30, 1854.

I have taken more pains this year, to add to your list, than formerly, (although some are gratis,) because I perceive that some of your former friends are forsaking you; but permit me to say, that I question whether such have ever been real friends. I cannot conceive how an enlightened friend of Freedom, one who hates Slavery in every form, whether of mind or body, can himself become the willing slave of others, or a leading spirit in the society of Know Nothings.

I have been a reader of the *Era* ever since its commencement; have been with it in all the questions of moment it has discussed; but had the *Era* and the New York *Tribune* swerved from the right, because it might seem to be their interest so to do, I should then have lost faith in a Free Press. But I do not wish to say more, except that, if it were possible, I like the *Era* more than ever. It is indeed worthy of the patronage of a Free People.

In Missouri, parties are strangely mixed up. The Whigs are trying how low they can bow down before their idol, Slavery. Nevertheless, there are yet a good many Free Soil Whigs in this city. The Nullifiers, or Anti-Benton Democrats, as they call themselves, are very scarce in St. Louis; but as they are the party adopted by the "powers that be" at Washington, there are quite sufficient found to fill all the offices. Atchison's friends in St. Louis are few, indeed. Look at him, when, instead of attending to his duties at Washington, he was making speeches and gathering his minions in Missouri, to go over the line into Kansas, to elect a Pro-Slavery man to Congress. Surely, this thing will be looked into by Congress.

The Benton Democrats are, certainly, in numbers, more than all others; and permit me to say, that, like their leader, Col. Benton, they are certainly in advance, in liberal principles, of the Democratic party and leaders in many of the free States.

I remain yours, &c., W.

THE ERA IN GEORGIA.
———, GEO., *Jan.* 3, 1855.

Enclosed I send you five dollars, which, according to your terms, entitles me to three copies of the *Era*. Please send, &c.

Last year, in March or April, I subscribed for your paper, and, liking it, soon afterwards sent you three dollars extra, for an additional copy, and odd numbers to give away in aid of the cause. I have found some five or six persons in favor of checking the progress of the Slave Power, but they don't like to subscribe for the paper. The fear of injury to themselves, or their business, or political prospects, doubtless has its influence upon them, as we all know it does on a vast multitude of Southern men, who see and feel the evils of the *peculiar institution*. If we can cause your paper to be read here, it will certainly have a good effect.

Permit me to express my regret that the Know Nothing agitation is diminishing the number of your readers, as you say it is; for, believing the *Era* to be the best Anti-Slavery paper that has ever been published in this country, I desire to see it circulated as widely as possible.

The success of your paper, and the cause in which you are engaged, have my warmest wishes.

FROM A KNOW NOTHING.
CEDRON, CLERMONT CO., O., *December*, 1854.

You speak of losing subscribers to the *Era* by your opposition to Know Nothingism. I will not say you are treated right; but there are a few numbers coming to me, and when my time expires, send the paper right on. You will find the money enclosed for myself and others. I am always pleased to see a workman "hew up to the line, if the chips fly in my face." Consider me a life subscriber (if I am a Know Nothing) for the *Era*, so long as it maintains a manly course; and when the money fails to reach you, if there is no fault in the mails, I "guess" you may write my obituary.

A PREDICTION.
KIRTLAND, LAKE CO., O., *Jan.* 1, 1855.

A secret Order for any object is sufficiently objectionable; but an association of this kind for a political object or end is to my mind extremely so. Admitting the fact, that, under the direction and guidance of just men, it might result in the production of good fruits, it is equally true, that, under a control of an opposite character, the fruits would be evil, and only evil; and, from present appearances, the latter guidance seems likely to prevail. I hope our friends, who have been artfully ensnared in Fillmore's Pro-Slavery trap, will make haste to get out of it before it is too late.

I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but suffer me to predict, that if this Order, under Pro-Slavery control, seeks to elevate a Union-saver of the Fillmore stamp to the Presidency, and the remotest prospect of success should appear evident, that the generous hearted from the old Democratic party, who, I trust, constitute a majority at the North of that party, together with the know somethings from all other parties, will unite to frustrate their plans, and put this boasting Order to an inglorious rout and an ignominious defeat. *Please mark the above.*

TEMPORARY, BUT EFFECTUAL.
LAHASKA, PA., *Dec.* 26, 1854.

Now, whether the Know Nothings have hit upon the right plan or not, is not for me to say at present; (I wait for further developments.) One thing is certain, that the parties which but a little over two years ago played high for the Catholic vote, have been by them well nigh annihilated—a thing most devoutly to be wished for and rejoiced in. The party will live out its appointed time, which, at most, cannot be long; yet I suppose it will take possession of the General as well as State Governments, and effect a modification of our naturalization laws—a thing I am far from saying ought not to be done. But the day will come that shall burn as an oven; and when Mr. Fillmore comes to be nominated, as doubtless he will, there will be such a sifting of discordant political elements as has not been witnessed for many years. And may we not be permitted to hope that the true friends of Humanity and Freedom will come to know each other better, and, rallying around the true and proper standard, may labor on in hope of the final triumph of Righteousness and Temperance, of Liberty and Peace?

THE THING SETTLED.
SELMA, CLARK CO., O., *Jan.* 1, 1855.

Now that it has been made public, through their organ itself, that Anti-Slavery is not to be in the platform, and that they will oppose all agitation of the question of Slavery either *in* or *out* of Congress, what better proof, I would ask, do the friends of Freedom want, that this Order is not what it was at first represented to be, at least here at the North? It is a fact that none will deny, that it was the Anti-Slavery phase in the movement that carried the day in the late fall elections.

Now, if this is to be set aside, the sooner the friends of Freedom rally and select their candidates, the better, and let our opponents know that we are not to be bought and sold again to the South. I have talked with a number, and *all* say opposition to the Slave Power is to be their watchword.

WON'T STAY THERE LONG.
CHICOPEE, MASS., *Jan.* 1, 1855.

I have never taken your paper, and am induced to do so by a notice in the New York *Independent*, that the American party have withdrawn their support. Though I am identified with that party, I shall not sacrifice my Anti-Slavery principles; and you can rely upon the Anti-Slavery sentiment in Massachusetts, notwithstanding its absorption in the American party.

The re-election of Dr. Smith could not have been accomplished out of Boston—nor there, without the Liquor interest.

MR. BANKS.
WEST NEWTON, MASS., *Jan.* 1, 1855.

As a friend to Mr. Banks, of long standing, I read, with much disappointment, his last speech. So much as we have been able to read, it was not such as to gladden the hearts of lovers of Freedom, and not, I think, what we had a right to expect from *him*; but we will hope for better things.

Let me then assure you of my entire sympathy in the course you have taken in the *Era*. The end will show it to have been right.

A FREE-SOILER STILL.

INSTANT IN SEASON AND OUT OF SEASON.
MONMOUTH, ILLINOIS, *Dec.* 23, 1854.

I find that many of our best Anti-Slavery men do not *consider* the importance of sustaining the Anti-Slavery press, as they ought. All they care for is, to get a good paper for little money. [illegible], I am persuaded that if every friend of the *Era* was a *working* man, that its subscription list would be four times as large as it now is, in less than a year. I may be allowed to say, for myself, that I have not left my shop to solicit a single subscriber, and in six months I have sent you *more* than twenty new subscribers. I am no Catholic, but a Protestant, of the strictest school. I admire your independent course with reference to the Know Nothings and their proscriptive doctrines.

A FREE CRITICISM.
CUMBERLAND CO., ILL., *Dec.* 20, 1850.

You tell us to be "considerate," and so we have been; and the result of our most serious thought has led us most heartily to rejoice at the bold and considerate stand the *Era* has taken toward the Know Nothing humbug. It has led us to double our exertions (although feeble) in its behalf. We have met with nothing in the history of the Anti-Slavery movement which has been so painful to us as to witness such inconsistency on the part of the friends of the slave. The principle avowed is the quintessence of oppression. Why do we make slaves of those of the negro blood alone? There can be but one answer, and that is, because he happens to be of that blood. But the measures proposed to accomplish the end, if possible, are still more detestable, which is nothing more nor less than a Protestant turning to a Jesuit.

It is said that the movement has contributed to the breaking up of the old Whig and Democratic parties. Such statements, we think, are very premature; they need confirmation. We give it as our opinion, founded upon close observation within our reach, that almost every Anti-Nebraska defeat in the late election can be traced to the action of the Know Nothings.

There is another point upon which we have been exercising our considerateness; and the consequence is, that we are made to mourn over the literary taste of a majority of the patrons of the *Era*, as indicated by the *amount* of novel or light reading which, according to the editor's opinion, appears to be necessary for its sustenance. We are grieved in view of the fact, that in order to patronize an Anti-Slavery paper, we thereby (as we see) foster in our children and youth a taste for such reading; and that, too, (in a large majority,) amounting to a distaste for any other. This is a matter which those who have the fear of God before their eyes are compelled to consider. We are willing to make almost any sacrifice for the Anti-Slavery cause; but if it be a fact that those with whom we associate demand of us so much as this, it becomes a serious question, whether we should not part company. We assure you, Mr. Editor, that we do not say these things by way of a threat. Our only aim is to (if possible) call the attention of the patrons of the *Era* to the subject. Having been a reader of the *Era* from the beginning, it has become like one of our household companions; therefore we speak freely, and intentionally respectful. Yours, truly, W. M. ALLISON.

AN INQUIRY.
YORK SPRINGS, PA., *Dec.* 24, 1854.

I think I noticed, by a decision of the Supreme Court of California, that Chinese are not considered to be citizens of that State, and can neither vote nor give testimony against a white person in certain cases. Now, California is nominally a free State. I would like to know how it is with the Siamese Twins in North Carolina. I understand they are both landholders and slaveholders. Are they permitted to either vote or give evidence, in consequence of their being slaveholders, or are they debarred from it, like the Chinese of California? I feel curious to know how Slavery works with regard to the Siamese Twins.

We cannot say as to the Siamese Twins; but in one of the counties of Virginia, the largest landholder is a colored man. He is also a slaveholder—but he is not permitted to vote, or to testify in a court of justice, against a white man.—*Ed. Era.*

TAKE CARE.
BATH, MASON CO., ILL., *Dec.* 15, 1854.

Mr. Cook, of Hagerstown, Md., advertises a book, in which are given several ways of making money. A friend of mine gave me a dollar to send for said book. I sent immediately, and waited some four months, but no book came to hand. I wrote to Mr. Cook again, some six months ago, and still have received no book. I have come to the conclusion that Mr. Cook is a pro-slavery man, and has taken this method to swindle anti-slavery readers out of their money.

Mr. Alonzo D. Ferren, of Clarkson, N. Y., who professes to be an anti-slavery man, advertises a book called the Citizen's Manual. Wishing to get Mr. Ferren's book, I sent him the money for it, and, after waiting a long time, I wrote again. Some two months have passed, and I have not heard anything from Mr. Ferren. Is it possible that men set up in this manner to swindle the public of a few dimes?

The last I shall notice is a Dr. B. De Laney, of New York city, who heads his advertisement "GRATIS." This Doctor says he will send, free of postage, on the receipt of two post office stamps, "a few words on the rational treatment, without medicine, of local weakness, nervous debility, loss of memory," &c. Now, this is cheating on a small scale. Instead of getting a few words on the rational treatment of the diseases named, it is only an advertising sheet, sent out at the expense of the afflicted, (only nine cents,) to induce them to send to this *benevolent* Doctor for an instrument which costs ten dollars, with twenty chances to be swindled out of the ten dollars, in addition to the nine cents.

Now, sir, as an old friend, I wish you to publish this, to let your large and respectable class of readers see such men in their true light. The amount lost by single individuals is small, but the aggregate is great.

J. C. CALLAWAY.

For the benefit of all concerned, we feel bound to give this an insertion.—*Ed. Era.*

A CAUTION TO ENTERERS OF PUBLIC LANDS.

It having been alleged to the General Land Office that "some persons have obtained 12,000 acres of the public domain under guise of the graduation law passed at the last session of Congress, acknowledging that they have evaded the law on the ground that it does not require them to state when they design making the settlement under it," it is proper to state that, under the construction which the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of the General Land Office put upon the law in question, no such swindling entries will be patented. The construction of the act which these authorities announce is, that the reduction of prices is to operate only in favor of three classes of persons:

1st. To persons who were actual settlers and occupants at the time of the enactment of the law, or such as may hereafter become such settlers, and who may be entitled to pre-emption.

2d. To persons who desire the same "for his or her own use, and for the purposes of actual settlement and cultivation;" that is, where the land is desired for the immediate use of that particular person as a farm for himself or family, and for no other use or purpose.

3d. To persons who already occupy or own land previously acquired, who may be desirous of securing public land adjoining that so occupied or owned, with a view to the extension of their present "farm or plantation."

No other person can rightfully avail himself of the provisions of the graduation law in this respect. All entries made under other circumstances will be regarded by the General Land Office as illegal and void, and those attempting to make them may also subject themselves to the penalty of the act, which prescribes "all the pains and penalties" meted out for perjury.

Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONVENTION AT ROME.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

[Correspondence of the Newark Daily Advertiser.]

ROME, *Dec.* 11, 1854.

The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin is now a fixed fact—a settled dogma of faith in the Roman Catholic Church. It was magisterially proclaimed, in the midst of the celebration of the fete of the Conception in St. Peter's on the 8th instant, by the authentic voice of the Supreme Pontiff. The circumstances were imposing. Over two hundred full-robed ecclesiastical dignitaries, including sixty Cardinals and one hundred and forty Archbishops and Bishops, representing every part of the world, besides innumerable lesser office-bearers of the church, assisted in the ceremonies of the eminent occasion. Perhaps so remarkable an assembly has not been convoked in the Metropolitan Cathedral before, since the commencement of the century.

The grand procession was formed at the Vatican at 8½ o'clock in the morning. It included the Pope's choir, the civil authorities of the city, and the whole Papal household, *en costume*, with the candles and various other insignia of festal occasions, and moved in solemn state to the cathedral, chanting the prescribed Litany. A long line of officials preceded the rich baldachin of the Pontiff. A more sumptuous cortege could scarcely be conceived.

The spectacle in the church after the Pope mounted the throne, surrounded by the gorgeous suite, was perhaps too oriental to suit Western notions of religious rites; but the services were nevertheless performed with becoming dignity. After the chanting of the Evangelists in Latin and in Greek, Cardinal Macchi, as doyen of the Sacred College, conjointly with the prelates present, including the Bishops of the Greek and Armenian rites, presented at the foot of the throne a petition in the Latin tongue, of which I subjoin a free translation, viz:

"That which for a long time, O Most Holy Father, has been ardently desired and with full voice demanded by the Catholic Church, viz: the definitive decision by your supreme and infallible judgment of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, for augmenting her praise, her glory, and her veneration, we, in the name of the Sacred College of Cardinals, of the Bishops of the Catholic world, and of all the faithful, humbly and urgently pray that in this solemnity of the most Holy Virgin may be accomplished the common desire. For which end, in the midst of this august sacrifice, in this temple sacred to the Prince of the Apostles, and in this solemn assembly of the most ample Senate of Bishops and people, deign, O Most Holy Father, to raise your apostolic voice, and pronounce the dogmatic decree of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, by which there will be joy in Heaven and great rejoicing on Earth."

The Pope responded, that he willingly received the petition, but added that it was necessary to invoke the aid of the Holy Spirit, in order to answer it. The *Veni Creator* was then chanted by the choir and the whole assembly; after which, the Sovereign Pontiff read aloud, but with a tremulous voice, (in Latin,) the following

DECREE:

It is a dogma of faith, that the most Blessed Virgin, in the first instant of her conception, by the singular privilege and grace of God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, Saviour of the human race, was preserved exempt from all touch of original sin.

The pronunciation of the decree was instantly announced to the world without by the cannon of the Castle of St. Angelo, when all the bells of Rome forthwith commenced a joyful chime, and the inhabitants displayed their various colored satin and damask ensigns from the windows and balconies of the city. The gloomy streets suddenly became as gay as the flower-bordered walks of a pleasure garden.

On the conclusion of the church ceremonies with a hymn of thanksgiving, in which the whole vast congregation joined, the procession was re-formed and returned to the Vatican, the Pope being borne in a pontifical chair to the Chapel of Sextus IV, where, in due form, he crowned the image of the Virgin with a crown of gold, sparkling with precious gems.

Among the distinguished spectators of the ceremonies were the Queen of Saxony, the Diplomatic Corps, and the chief officers of the French garrison.

The entire city was illuminated in the evening, including the cupola of the Vatican, and the French and Italian bands made the air vocal with the choicest music for hours. Cardinal Wiseman also made a discourse on the occasion, in the Conservatory, to an illustrious audience.

The next morning the Pope held a Consistory in the Apostolic Palace, and made an address to the assembled prelates, thanking them for their assistance in the sacred functions of the occasion, and exhorting them to a faithful observance of duty in the case. Cardinal Bonald, of France, responded in behalf of the assembly. A gold medal was then distributed, bearing the image of the Virgin on one side, and the following Latin epigraph on the other: "*Deiparæ Virgine sine labe conceptæ Pius IX, Pont. Max. ex auri Australiæ primitiis sibi oblatis cudi jussit IV, id dec. MDCCCLIV.*"

From the Greensboro' (N. C.) Patriot, December 23d, 1854.

EMANCIPATION OF JERRY.

Most of our readers have doubtless heard of "Jerry," a slave belonging to the Hon. D. M. Barringer. It appears that Mr. B. is desirous of setting Jerry free. The following is a sketch of the proceedings on the bill to emancipate Jerry, in the House of Commons, Dec. 5:

"The bill for the emancipation of Jerry was taken up for a second reading.

"Mr. Smith, of Halifax, said that he was opposed on principle to the emancipation of slaves, and wished to know something about the slave.

"Mr. Myers replied at considerable length, explaining some peculiar circumstances connected with Jerry's history, and appealing strongly in his behalf.

"Mr. Dargan followed in the same strain.

"Mr. Barringer said Jerry had been in his service fourteen years, and had travelled with him in Europe; that during all that time he had never heard the slightest thing alleged against him, but, on the contrary, he was a universal favorite. He is remarkable for his honesty and humility, and in his (Mr. B.'s) opinion, is one of the best colored men living. While at the North, as well as in Europe, he had numerous opportunities to escape, but he preferred returning, that he might be set free legally in his own State.

"Mr. Shepherd spoke in behalf of Jerry, (producing his daguerreotype, which was handed round.)

"Mr. Steele was opposed to allowing any precedent in the emancipation of slaves.

"Mr. McKesson said the very creditable manner in which Jerry conducted himself among the Abolitionists of the North last summer ought to be, of itself, a double inducement to every member of the House to liberate him; and when in New York once, meeting some North Carolina brokers, shaving the paper money of their State, he took gold from his pocket, and redeemed the paper at its full value, for the honor of his native State. He (Mr. McK.) hoped such conduct would not be overlooked.

"Mr. Smith made some remarks in opposition to the bill.

"Mr. Vance said he was a friend of Jerry's, and moved that his daguerreotype be sent to the Senate, with a proposition to print!

"Mr. Jordan spoke at considerable length in opposition to the bill, which he considered as establishing a bad precedent. He said there were already too many free negroes in the State, who were not made happy by their emancipation, but were, in his opinion, more miserable than any slaves. Free negroes have become a nuisance, and, for his part, he would not vote for the emancipation of Jerry or any other, unless the bill in their behalf contained a provision to send them out of the country altogether.

"On the motion to put the bill on its second reading, the ayes and noes were called. Those who voted in the negative were: Messrs. Bryant, Chadwick, Daughtry Gilliam, G. Green, Harrison Jones, Jordan, Martin, Perkins, Simmons, Smith Watts, G. M. White, N. B. Whitfield, Whitaker, S. A. Williams.—17.

"Ninety-four voted in the affirmative, and the bill passed a second reading."

As Freedom is deemed a curse to the black man in the South, we are sorry to point to this act of the North Carolina Legislature, as another illustration of Southern cruelty.—*Ed. Era.*

SLAVERY PROPAGANDISTS IN CALIFORNIA.

[From the Sonora Herald.]

There are many of these persons in the mixed population of our State. Of these, a goodly portion are office-seekers. Indeed, many of them, so little time or attention do they bestow upon anything else, appear to imagine that they were born to be rulers of the land. Ever since the formation of our State Government and our admission into the Union, their jealousy towards our free Constitution has been made manifest, in the halls of legislation as well as out of them. They regard California as a prize which should have been theirs, and they still hope to cunningly incorporate their purposes upon a portion of its domain. Some do not pretend to disguise their intentions; while others, with deeper subtlety than their co-workers, keep their plans from public view, and with powerful art and urbane plausibility seek to control the entire machinery of our State Government, in order to direct its action to the consummation of the object which is the end and aim of all their strivings, viz: the erection of a slave State on the Pacific. Their schemes are so well devised, and they have hoodwinked the electors of the State so admirably, that, no doubt, ecstatic visions of luxuriant idleness, themselves lying off in the shade of the fig and orange groves of sunny Los Angeles, with niggers to wait on them and do all the vulgar labor, are already floating before their imaginations. To stifle opposition is a portion of their programme, and therefore we see them raise the howl of "abolition" against any man who dares to use the right of free speech in denouncing their schemes. It is an unpardonable crime in their eyes to be a Northern man with Northern opinions:

"Unprized are her sons till they've learnt to betray."

Thus we see every man who regards slavery in its proper light, even every man of whom there is a doubt, every man who will not stifle the instinctive belief implanted in his breast, turn grovelling doughface, and pander to Southern prejudices, denounced as abolitionist. This has happened so often within the last three years, that it has become notorious. So far has the spirit been carried, that it is publicly asked, when Northern men are candidates for office, whether they are "sound on the velvet-head question." Now, why is this, or where is the necessity for it? We live in a free State, and are far removed from where slavery exists. No man in California is crazy enough to trouble himself about slavery in the Southern States. Where, then, is the necessity of introducing the question here, inquiring what State a man came from, and proscribing him because his opinions have not a pro-slavery tendency? The elucidation of this question lies in the fact that so many Southern men have become professional office-seekers in this State, that they aim at a monopoly of the offices, at a fundamental alteration in the character of our institutions, and that it is, as before stated, a portion of their programme to stifle opposition by frightening the timid with the senseless howl of "abolition."

For ourselves, we do not judge a man's merits by the geographical position of his birthplace. Our test for a man's fitness to office is, whether he is a bona-fide citizen of the State, and honest and capable. We love the Union, and perhaps would be found as ready as the most boastful in maintaining its integrity and protecting the rights of all. Our brethren from the South should recollect that we are as jealous of all interference with our institutions as they are of theirs, and that freedom is more sacred to us than slavery. We do not recognise the right of the citizens of any one State to interfere with the institutions of another. They who insist that we shall go farther than this—that we shall give up our opinion that slavery is an evil, and shut our eyes to all schemes for its propagation, and they who think to intimidate us by using nicknames towards us—will find, if they have not already found, that we are not to be frightened from our ideas of right by a "bugaboo" cry.

GOV. CLARK AND THE LEMMON CASE.

The following extract from the message of Gov. Clark to the Legislature of New York, in reference to the famous Lemmon case, will excite much interest, especially in Virginia:

A controversy is pending in our courts of law between this State and the State of Virginia, which, from the importance of the principles involved and the extent to which its decision will affect the right of this State to regulate its own domestic affairs, requires your attention. The facts out of which it arose are these: In the month of November, 1852, one Jonathan Lemmon, a citizen of Virginia, brought into the city of New York eight persons whom, by the laws of Virginia, he had held as slaves, and with whom, as he alleged, he was on his way to Texas. They were brought, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, before one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, who decided that, by virtue of the laws of New York, they were entitled to their freedom.

They were accordingly discharged, and immediately removed to Canada, thus placing themselves beyond the jurisdiction of both our State and our Federal laws. The sum of $5,000 was raised, by voluntary contribution among the citizens of New York, to indemnify Mr. Lemmon for his loss. So far as individual interests were involved, although an appeal from the judge's decision had been taken on behalf of the claimant, the case would have been terminated by these proceedings. But the Governor of Virginia, in a special communication dated December 17, 1852, called the attention of the Legislature of that State to this decision, which he characterized as "contrary to the spirit of all law, as opposed to the established principles which regulate intercourse with foreign nations, and at war with the relations which should subsist between the sister States of the Union, as well as at war with the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution itself." The Governor further recommended that provision should be made by the State for the efficient prosecution of the appeal which had been taken, and for "such other judicial proceedings as might be found necessary and proper for a satisfactory adjustment of the important question involved in this case." In accordance with this recommendation, the Legislature of Virginia subsequently directed the Attorney General of that State to prosecute the appeal, with such other counsel as the Executive might think proper to associate with him. That appeal has not yet been heard, but will probably be argued at the next general term of our Supreme Court.

The language of the law of this State—which declares that "no person held as a slave shall be imported, introduced, or brought into this State, on any pretence whatever," and that "every such person shall be free"—is so explicit as to obviate all doubt in regard to its meaning. Its operation can be resisted, therefore, only upon the ground that it is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, or to the laws of international comity. The law of nations would undoubtedly permit the citizens or subjects of one country to pass through another country with their property, but only with property recognised as such by the same law. Slaves are property only by virtue of local law; where that ceases to have jurisdiction, they cease to be property, and cannot be recognised or treated as such. If the decision of this question rested, therefore, upon the principles of international law, which is the only rule of international comity, I see nothing hostile to those principles in the law of this State, which applies to this case.

But the several States of this Union do not hold to each other the relation of independent Powers. The law which regulates their intercourse, and controls their conduct towards each other, is the Federal Constitution. By the provisions of that instrument, every State is left entirely free to make such laws in reference to its local institutions as it may see fit. To this there is but one exception. It declares that "no person held to service or labor in one State, *escaping* into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor." Every State is thus prohibited from making any law or regulation by which fugitives from service, which is due under the laws of the State from which they may escape, shall be discharged from that service. The State of New York has always respected this prohibition, as well as the right of Virginia and of every other State to legalize and regulate slavery within her own jurisdiction.

But she claims equal sovereignty over her own domestic institutions, and the same right of declaring upon what conditions slavery may be allowed, or whether it shall be allowed at all, within her limits. If this right be denied her, she will be deprived of the most essential attribute of sovereignty, that of deciding upon the civil condition and securing the personal rights of those who may be brought under the protection of her laws.

It seems to me highly important that a question which involves, to so great an extent, the dignity and the rights of this State, should not be decided without a full and careful examination. At present, no provision exists for defending the law of this State against the State of Virginia, either in our own courts or in the Federal courts, to which the case will undoubtedly be carried, if a decision against the law should not otherwise be obtained. I recommend, therefore, the adoption of a resolution directing the Attorney General, together with such counsel as may be associated with him, to defend the rights and the interests of this State in the appeal that has been taken.

"*A Book to create a profound sensation.*"—N. York Mirror.

RUTH HALL:
A Domestic Tale of the Present Time.
BY FANNY FERN.
12mo, Cloth. 400 pp. Price, $1.25.

THIS is the first continuous story ever published by this distinguished authoress, who has achieved a reputation so brilliant in so brief a time. We believe truth will warrant us in the assertion that it is creating a more profound sensation than any book ever issued from the American press. In anticipation of a great demand, two mammoth editions were prepared previous to the day of publication. In *two days* these were entirely exhausted, and though we have been manufacturing since at the rate of fifteen hundred copies per day, we are still some thousands of copies behind our orders! Arrangements have been made to manufacture still more rapidly.

Some indication of the effect of this book upon the press may be gathered from the following brief extracts, many of them from whole-column notices:

Here is a remarkable book—a book to create a profound sensation. We have read it through, the volume of 400 pages, in six consecutive hours. * * * The story is told with extraordinary power and interest. There are passages in "Ruth Hall" equal in tragic description to anything in the works of Dickens. It is a book that will make a sobbing among mothers and widows, and cause a general sighing over the sins of the rich and sufferings of the poor.—*N. Y. Mirror.*

Never did a tale abound in so many beautiful images, and so skillfully-drawn pictures of the heart. * * * Destined to be one of the most popular works ever issued from the American press.—*Phila. Mercury.*

If any doubts have existed in the minds of Fanny Fern's readers as to her being a woman of genius, "Ruth Hall" will dispel them. * * * No one will fail to read the book through, who reads the first chapter.—*N. Y. Courier.*

Fanny Fern seems in reality to have eclipsed her previous fame, great as that was. * * * It will be sought for and read all over the land—in the mansions of the rich, and the quiet country-house of the farmer. It will become a sort of household god, and many will be the sympathizing and gentle heart that will beat in unison with that of the heroine.—*N. Y. Atlas.*

Fanny Fern is, beyond comparison, the most popular of American authors. * * * Wherever the English language is spoken, "Ruth Hall" will be eagerly read. There will be those to smile and weep over it in farthest Australia and in distant Oregon.—*N. Y. Picayune.*

Well, we read the book through, aloud, sometimes interrupted by a sobbing wife, and we never knew a moment's peace until Dr. Goldsmith had prescribed hive-syrup and something else, which we had "put up" by Rushton & Aspinwall, and placed in the wife's keeping, in case our little first-born Mary should get the croup and die, as Fanny Fern's little Daisy did.—*New York Pick.*

In many of the short chapters of this volume there is a power displayed of revealing the workings of the soul, which is quite up to the capacity of Dickens, while his tedious minuteness is never permitted to appear.—*Presbyterian Banner.*

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